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JAMAICA:

ITS PAST AND PRESENT STATE.

00084786

PREFACE.

THE author of the following pages, having been incapacitated for more active labours by protracted personal affliction, formed the resolution of employing the leisure which was afforded him in writing a work on JAMAICA, which he ventures to hope will in some measure supply a desideratum long felt and acknowledged by the conductors and supporters of our various missionary societies.

None but the invalided missionary knows the bitterness of those feelings which fill the heart, when compelled by sickness to leave behind him his scene of arduous but happy toil, and to re-visit his native shores under circumstances which preclude the possibility of engaging in active exertion for the promotion of that cause to which he has consecrated his life. In these feelings, which not all the sympathy and kindness of friends can wholly remove, the writer has largely shared. But should it be found that the present effort of his pen has in some measure supplied

that "lack of service" which he hoped to have otherwise rendered, not only will the severity of the trial be greatly alleviated, but throughout his future days it will prove a source of high and joyous satisfaction.

Though the manner in which he has accomplished his object will of course be variously estimated, he can most conscientiously affirm, that in all his statements he has at least endeavoured to be scrupulously correct, and to give a faithful representation of Jamaica as it *was*, and Jamaica as it *is*. Having been a resident on the island since the year 1823, he has had extended opportunities of acquainting himself with it. And though, with regard to its past history, and present commercial condition, as well as some other particulars, he has been compelled to avail himself of the labours of the historian, yet the greater portion is the result of his own observation and experience. He cannot but indulge the hope that the facts narrated, illustrative of the fervent piety, growing intelligence, and rapidly improving temporal circumstances of those who but a few years since not only tasted the "wormwood and the gall" of slavery, but who, with regard to their spiritual condition, were "sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death," will strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of those Christian philanthropists to whose benevolent and unceasing efforts the mighty change is, under God, to be attributed. Nor does he feel willing to

repress the delightful anticipation that by these pages feelings may be awakened which shall ultimately contribute to hasten the arrival of the period when not only shall the blighting curse of slavery pass away from every land, but when "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea."

It may possibly be thought by some that too many anecdotes have been introduced, as well as too liberal a use made of the peculiarities of the negro dialect. If any apology is required, the author begs to state that he has been governed in this particular not so much by his own predilections and tastes as by the advice of valued friends, who judged that such a method of illustrating the various topics to which attention is directed would be more likely than any other to interest and benefit a large class of his readers—an object at which he considered himself bound to aim.

It will not escape observation that prominence has been given to the moral and religious condition of the black and coloured population, and to the encouraging results of missionary efforts among them.

To preserve the fidelity of an historical record, the author has necessarily reverted to circumstances of a painful as well as a pleasing character; and if in so doing he has reflected upon what he regards as existing evils, it has been from a consciousness of duty,

as it is by such representations that manners and customs are reformed. Most truly can he affirm that he cherishes no improper feeling towards the higher classes of the inhabitants of Jamaica; on the contrary, it is the most sincere desire of his heart that her governors, senators, judges, and magistrates may be men eminent for piety and equity—that the higher classes of her population, as well as her peasantry, may be truly good, industrious, and happy—that she, as a country, may excel in all that is great, and noble, and distinguished—that she may ever remain connected with Britain, not only politically, but by ties of the warmest affection and holiest sympathies, cemented by the most sacred bonds that can hold society together.

As a matter of necessity, the writer is more intimately acquainted with the progress of his own denomination than with that of any other, and consequently has given to it a more full and circumstantial account. Had it been practicable, it would have afforded him the sincerest pleasure to have embodied in his work a comprehensive statement of the successes and encouragements of those honoured brethren of other denominations whose labours have been signally owned and blessed. It is a deficiency which he sincerely regrets. But having left the island without any intention of becoming an author, and, perhaps, with a too confident expectation of being engaged in more active

service during his sojourn in his native land, he did not avail himself of those sources of information which would have been open to him, had he formed the resolution of writing at an earlier period; and since thus engaged he has been prevented by a variety of circumstances from obtaining that correct statistical information which was requisite to enable him to fulfil his first intention. To these causes alone is the omission to be attributed. Far from him be that attachment to a party which would lead him to regard with feelings of jealousy or indifference the labours of those whom, though under another name, he regards as brethren, and honours as the servants of Christ. He can truly say, "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity;" and ardently does he long for the arrival of the day which is destined to witness that delightful union of soul and effort which constituted the burden of his prayer who is "head over all things to the church." "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."*

Proposals for the establishment of a college on liberal and comprehensive principles, but designed especially for the education of the descendants of Africa in the higher branches of learning and science,

* John xvii. 21.

will be found as an Appendix, to which the particular attention of the reader is invited.

The volume being already increased far beyond its originally intended size, in addition to the impossibility of obtaining all the statistics necessary for the purpose, the author has not added the sketch of missionary stations announced in the Prospectus. The omission, however, he flatters himself will not be regarded as important, inasmuch as it may easily be supplied by individual reference to the publications of each Society.

As a Christian missionary, whose life has been spent, not in learned seclusion, but in the duties and incessant labours of his office, the author makes no pretensions to literary excellence. His aim has been to produce a work which might be interesting and useful, even without those embellishments of diction which, though ever pleasing, are not always necessary. As it is, he commends his volume to the attention of the churches and the blessing of Almighty God, as an humble contribution to the glory of Him in whose work he desires "to spend and be spent," and who, in the days of his flesh, graciously condescended to accept the services of her who "did what she could."

LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1843.

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JAMAICA;

ITS PAST AND PRESENT STATE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

CHRISTIANITY.

Its nature—Adaptation to the wants and circumstances of the World—Its designs—Its effects—The future glory of the Church—Particular instrumentality to be employed—Former neglect of the Church—Subsequent activity—First Missionary Society—Difficulties and Discouragements—Future and increasing Success.

CHRISTIANITY is a system of the most pure and exalted philanthropy. The field which it is designed to occupy "is the world," and its object the salvation of the whole human race, without any distinction of country, condition, or character. Revelation looks with the same benign aspect on the sun-burnt negro as on the inhabitant of a more temperate clime—to the bond as to the free—to the savage as to the philosopher; all are alike the offspring of the same common parent, involved in the consequences of the same apostacy, heirs of the same immortal destiny, and alike capable of being restored to the happiness and prerogatives of their exalted nature. "God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth." "Darkness has covered the

earth, and gross darkness the people." And in that great day, when the purposes of God shall have received their full accomplishment, "a multitude which no man can number, out of every kindred, and nation, and people, and tongue," shall join in the eternal jubilee of the redeemed from amongst men. "They shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down with Abraham, and with Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God." But, as there is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved, but Jesus Christ, it is evident that the gospel must be universally diffused, and that "all nations" must be "subdued to the obedience of faith." And to this glorious event both promise and prophecy lead our expectations. "I saw," says Daniel, "in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came in the clouds of Heaven and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."*

Thus there is to be a visible and territorial, if not an actual, subjugation of the whole world to the power and rule of the Redeemer. Thrice happy and glorious period! then the reign of darkness is to end and innocence and peace are to be enthroned. Innocence and peace, those blessed emblems of millennial happiness and glory. So will a new creation arise as

* Dan. vii. 13, 14.

from the ruins of the old, when the various ranks of being, no longer separated, shall form one beautiful chain of happy intercourse. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."*

This representation of the future state of the world, it may be said, is exceedingly delightful, but how is such a mighty revolution to be effected? It is to be effected by the Gospel, accompanied by the Almighty power of the Holy Spirit. "But how can they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how can they hear without a preacher? and how can they preach except they be sent?" Human instrumentality is necessary in the order of means for the moral renovation of the world. The obligations under which all real Christians are laid should be felt, acknowledged, and, to the best of their ability, discharged; for they come to them not simply as duties, but as commands enforced by the example, and enjoined by the authority, of Christ. "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."† Like the apostles, missionaries in every succeeding age were to be "sent

* Isaiah xi. 6—9. † Mark xvi. 15.

unto the Gentiles to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness unto light, that they might receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them which are sanctified through faith which is in Christ."*

It is deeply to be regretted that it was not until a comparatively recent period that Christians in general seemed aware of their duty towards the heathen world; and thus ages were suffered to pass away, during which it might be said by the eight hundred millions of our race who every thirty years pass into eternity as they cast their eye of distraction up to the frowning judge, "No man cared for my soul."

No sooner, however, did the Church awake from her slumbers than she clearly perceived her obligation: than she buckled on her armour, and was resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to take possession of the rich inheritance bequeathed to her. Hence, the formation of Missionary, Bible, Scriptural Education, and Sunday School Societies, and others of a similar nature, at once the ornament and glory of our land. Thus began a new era in the history of the Church of Christ. Such, indeed, on the formation of the first Missionary Society (in modern times) was the novelty of its character, so mysterious and powerful the difficulties against which it had to contend, and such the vastness and grandeur of its aim, that an interest was associated with it unparalleled in any age since that of the Apostles. The object contemplated, indeed, was regarded as a mighty and glorious, yet, in some respects, a dubious enterprise, requiring deep reflection

* Acts xxvi. 18.

in the plan, and no small degree of wisdom, courage, perseverance, self-denial, and simple yet firm dependence upon God in the execution. In this light it was viewed by the agents to whom it was at first entrusted. "Our undertaking to India," says Mr. Fuller, "appeared to me, at its commencement, to resemble that of a few men who stood deliberating about the importance and necessity of penetrating into a deep mine which had never before been explored. We had no one to guide us, and while we were thus deliberating, Carey said, as it were, 'Well, I will go down if you will hold the ropes;' but before he went down he, as it seemed to me, took an oath from each of us, that while we lived we would never let go the ropes."

Nor were circumstances more favourable after the arrival of the first missionaries in Bengal. "Everywhere," says Mr. Ward, "we were advised to go back. Even one or two good men thought the attempt utterly impracticable. India, in short, has been long considered an impregnable fortress defended by the gods. Many a Christian soldier, it has been said, may be slain in the entrenchments, but the fort will never be taken."

Under such circumstances did the first missionaries enter the field. They laboured long and hard, and, as they had anticipated, against obstacles calculated to appal the stoutest heart; but, having thus counted the cost, and recognising the principle that no appearances however adverse altered their obligation, they still persevered, "trusting in God."

The promised blessing was at length bestowed. Barrier after barrier began to give way and disappear. This success produced a reaction upon the churches at home, and the heralds of salvation were successively multiplied. And now let us ask, what are the results of an enterprise, the operations of which were so doubtfully and almost inauspiciously begun? It may suffice to say that the results have exceeded the calculations of the most sanguine of the friends of missions. Whole nations have given up their gods. One island after another of the great southern archipelago has renounced its superstitions and assumed the Christian name, whilst, among the habitations of cruelty in the West, there is kindled a light which the united opposition of earth and hell will never be able to extinguish. The cloud of moral darkness which has for ages hovered over the continent of India has begun to retire—the spell of Brahma is dissolving—the chains of caste are falling off—the wheels of Juggernaut are scarce ensanguined—the horrid custom of self-immolation has disappeared, and the "sacred tide of Jordan mingles with the Ganges."

From the borders of China extending along many of the shores of the eastern continent, and even to the interior of Africa, has the light of life extended. In almost every portion of the globe are churches and schools rising up, the landmarks of missionary progress, forming a beautiful contrast to the surrounding barrenness and desolation—churches "built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." In almost every

direction we are presented with increasingly brightening prospects. In some parts of the field, God is not only with his servants, but it may emphatically be said that he has gone before them. The ground appears to be already ploughed up to their hands. They have nothing to do but to cast in the seed, and it immediately vegetates and brings forth an abundant harvest. All that seems wanted is increased liberality on the part of the Church to furnish more labourers to gather it in. To change the allusion, no sooner is an attack made upon the powers of darkness than a retreat is sounded, and all that seems required are reinforcements of men and increased pecuniary supplies to occupy the ceded ground. Allusion is here made more especially to the island of Jamaica, of which, as connected with the work of God, the following pages, it is hoped, will furnish some interesting particulars.

CHAPTER II.

SKETCH OF THE ISLAND.

Civil History and Geographical Situation—Discovery—Settlement by the Spaniards—Conquest by the British—Subsequent History.

THE island of Jamaica is one of the cluster of islands called the West Indies, which extends from Florida, in North America, to the mouth of the great river Oronooko, in South America. They are divided into windward and leeward, or the greater and lesser Antilles. Jamaica (or *Xaymaca*) is one of the latter group, and signifies, in the language of the aboriginal inhabitants, "a land abounding in springs."

It is situated between the parallels of 17° 39′ and 78° 34′ north latitude, and between 76° 3′ and 78° 34′ west longitude; 4000 miles south-west of England; 90 miles west of St. Domingo; and 435 miles north of Carthagena, on the South American continent. It is nearly of an oval form, and is 180 miles long, and 60 in extreme breadth, containing about 4,080,000 acres of land, or 6400 square miles.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus on the 3rd of May, 1494, on his second voyage to the New World. He had previously visited Hispaniola and Cuba. When first discovered by the Spaniards, the island is said to have been densely populated by Indians, a race of men (unlike the Caribs—cannibals who in-

habited some of the windward islands) benevolent and mild in their dispositions; of great simplicity of manners; and by no means unskilled in some of the arts of civilized life. They were assimilated, indeed, in these respects, as well as in appearance and language, to the aborigines of the contiguous continent. Sailing a south-west course from the east end of Cuba, Columbus approached the north side of the island, and being defeated in endeavouring to effect a landing at Santa Maria* (now Port Maria), by the hostile demonstrations of the natives, he proceeded to another harbour, a little to the northward, which he called Orá Cabessa, and there, after encountering similar opposition, which he subdued by discharging several of his arbaletes, or pieces of cannon, among the assailants, he planted the royal standard of Spain.

The appearance of the strangers; the report of their artillery; and above all, the slaughter they had witnessed, struck the Indians with astonishment and awe. A negociation was therefore effected, and the invaders were plentifully supplied with the various productions of the island, by an interchange of presents. Here the Spaniards remained for about ten days, and, disappointed in their expectation of finding precious metals, they sailed again to Cuba.

With the exception of a simple survey of the coast, which he commenced at Rio Bueno on the 22nd June, 1494, and which occupied him until the 20th of the ensuing August, nothing further was heard of Columbus by the natives of Jamaica during a period of nine

* So called after the name of his first ship.

years. Fortunate had it been for these peaceful and comparatively happy islanders, as well as for the Spaniards themselves, had this been the termination of their mutual intercourse; but other changes and calamities awaited them. Columbus revisited the island on the 4th July, 1502, when, on his fourth voyage after having been compelled by stress of weather to shelter in the Isle of Pines, on the coast of Cuba, and after a disastrous expedition to Veraqua, or the island of St. Christopher, accompanied by his son Diego, and brother Bartholomew, encountering dreadful weather, in which he lost two of his ships, he was driven to Maxaca, an Indian village on the southern coast of Cuba. Here he effected a slight repair of his vessels, and putting again to sea, was driven by a violent storm on an uninhabited part of the north coast of Jamaica, destitute both of water and provisions. To have remained in such a situation would have been a voluntary submission to all the horrors of famine. Although, therefore, his remaining vessels were in a foundering state, this intrepid mariner once more turned his shattered prows to the deep. The trade-wind drove them in a westerly direction, and himself and crews being in great jeopardy of their lives, Columbus ran his vessels on the shore at St. Ann's Bay, called by him Santa Gloria, distinguished to the present time as Don Christopher's Cove. In this shallow bay, protected by a reef of rocks, and otherwise secured from the elements, the weather-beaten and exhausted mariners were afforded temporary security and repose. The natives treated them with the

greatest kindness and hospitality, little suspecting the manner in which their generosity would be repaid. Meanwhile Columbus sought deliverance from his forlorn situation. With this view he despatched his secretary, Diego Mendez and Fieski, two of his most intrepid and faithful officers, in two boats, furnished with ten Indians and six Castilians, to Ovando, the Governor of Hispaniola, 200 leagues distant, for assistance and supplies. Mendez at the same time was appointed by the admiral to proceed to the Court of Spain, with a memorial to the King. Ovando, to gratify his revenge on Columbus, with whom he was at enmity, instead of affording him the required relief, basely took advantage of the admiral's calamities, by adding to them mockery and insult. A latent suspicion had long been lurking in the breasts of some of his companions, that they had incurred the displeasure of the Government at home, and of the Viceroy of Hispaniola, on account of their fidelity to Columbus, and the late occurrence tended to confirm that impression. A mutiny therefore ensued, instigated by two of his principal officers—the brothers De Porras. Various charges were brought against their veteran commander by the mutineers, as a pretext for their atrocities, and several times, when confined to his miserable cabin by acute disease, were attempts made upon his life, which were only frustrated by the skill and bravery of his brother Bartholomew.

The mutineers were intent on making efforts to reach Hispaniola. For this purpose they seized ten canoes which Columbus had purchased from the Indians, with a view to the mutual escape of himself and crews, and

manning them with Indians as rowers, whom they forcibly compelled to the task, they proceeded along the shore to the east end of the island—the spot to which they had previously accompanied Mendez and Fieski—when, after plundering the coast, and committing other excesses, they stood out to sea. Their frail barks were unable to sustain the fury of the storm that arose, and to secure their own lives they sacrificed those of the Indians, by throwing them overboard with the baggage. Driven back successively, and at length become desperate by their reverses, the base conspirators vented their diabolical passions on the hospitable Indians—their almost broken-hearted admiral, and his few faithful adherents. Among the Indians they committed the greatest enormities, laying waste their provision-grounds, and destroying the lives of all who opposed the gratification of their passions, thereby subjecting themselves and all their unfortunate companions to the most fearful retaliation of their benefactors. The Indians, as apprehended, failed in their supplies, and famine began to stare the Spaniards in the face. It was at this period, and under these circumstances, that Columbus resorted to the expedient of securing a continuance of the obedience and friendship of the natives, by foretelling an eclipse of the moon.*

* "Under these circumstances Columbus convened all the Caciques in the neighbourhood, that he might inform them of something which was of importance to their happiness, and essential to their preservation. These good creatures attended him; and he, after complaining of their leaving him and his companions to perish by famine, addressed them in the following words, which he pronounced with peculiar emphasis, as if he had been inspired:—'To punish you for your cruel conduct, The

Diego Columbus at length reduced the rebels to their allegiance, by an engagement in which many of them were slain. But the deliverance of the exiles from their now almost unendurable situation was at hand. In a month afterwards, 28th June, 1504, after the lapse of little more than a year, the vessels despatched from Santa Gloria to Hispaniola under the command of Mendez and Fieski returned, and the admiral, with the remnant of his diseased and half-famished crews, immediately departed, leaving the Indians once more in the peaceful possession of their lovely isle.

But the period of their repose was brief. In 1509, three years afterwards, Christopher Columbus died,*

Great Spirit, whom I adore, is going to visit you with his most terrible judgments. This very evening you will observe the moon turn red; after which she will grow dark, and withhold her light from you. This will only be a prelude to your calamities, if you obstinately persist in refusing to give us food.' He had scarcely finished this speech, when his prophecy was accomplished. The natives were astonished; and being easily induced to deeds of benevolence, they, upon a promise of better behaviour by Columbus in behalf of his turbulent followers, and assurances of a speedy departure, promised to supply them with whatever they required. He then told them, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeased, and that nature was now to resume her wonted course. They afterwards conducted themselves with greater circumspection; and were, during the remainder of their stay, furnished with the necessary supplies of provisions."

* The body of Columbus is said to have been conveyed to the monastery of the Carthusians, at Seville, where he was magnificently interred in the cathedral of that city, and a monument erected to his memory, on which is the following inscription:—

A Castilia y á Leon
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.

In English,

To Castile and Leon
Columbus gave a New World.

Subsequently, it is said his body was carried from the above monastery

and a still more bitter cup was prepared for them, the very last dregs of which they were doomed to drain. Jamaica, with its inhabitants, was now given up by the court of Spain to the unrestrained tyranny of Alfonzo d'Ojeda and Diego Nicuissa, between whom it had divided the government of Darien. Disputes arose between these rival chieftains as to the division of the lands, and the human property thus placed at their disposal; and the consequences of this unlimited power to the unoffending victims of their misrule are almost too dreadful to relate. Their peaceful villages were everywhere destroyed, and hundreds who escaped the general and indiscriminate massacre, which at length, for a time at least, satiated the thirst of its perpetrators for blood, were doomed to administer to their lust of avarice by interminable slavery in the mines of Mexico or Peru. In the midst of these disputes and remorseless cruelties Don Diego, the son of the Great Discoverer, who was at that time governor of Hispaniola, having a prior claim to the viceroyalty of Jamaica, instituted proceedings against the crown of Castile, with a view to the recovery of his rights, and sent Don Juan d'Esquimel, with seventy men, to take possession of the island on his behalf. D'Esquimel reduced it at very little expense of life or property; and, in further obedience to his instructions, commenced a colony, and founded the seat of government on the banks of a rivulet, near the ruins of the ancient Indian village Mayama, on the north side of the island. It was Santa Gloria, a spot hallowed in

to the city of Domingo, in Hispaniola, and interred in the chancel of the cathedral there.

the affections of Diego's heart on account of the shipwreck and sufferings of his father in 1503, and he named it Sevilla Nueva.

His suit against the crown was decided in his favour by the Council of the Indies, and the designation Sevilla Nueva was an appropriate commemoration of that event. The infant colony both claimed and shared the sympathy and attention of its hereditary Viceroy; and to promote its general interests, but especially those of a spiritual kind, his brother Ferdinand now arrived from Spain, and established a monastery. These preparations, as may be supposed, were viewed with no little jealousy by the band of Indians that had survived the fatal reign of D'Ojeda and Nicuissa, and they armed themselves in opposition. At length, in utter hopelessness of success, they gradually sank into the condition of slaves, the cruelties they had suffered having extinguished almost every trace of their former dispositions and character.

"Oft the pensive muse
Recalls, in tender thought, the mournful scene
When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
His last sad blessing to a weeping train
Dying bequeathed. The hour (he said) arrives,
By ancient sages to our sires foretold;
Fierce from the deep, with Heaven's own lightning armed,
The pallid nation comes; blood marks their steps;
Man's agonies their sport; and man their prey." *

* "The manner in which the remorseless Spaniards tortured their unoffending victims was worthy of the goodness of such a cause. They seized upon them by violence, distributed them like brutes into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their sufferings. It was also a frequent practice among them, as one of their own historians informs us (human nature shudders at the tale), to murder hundreds of these poor creatures, merely to keep

"San Domingo, then in all its glory, graced by the presence of royal blood and many of the nobility of Castile, and the seat of fashion in the New World, communicated its luxuriance and taste to Sevilla Nueva (now called Sevilla d'Oro, from the gold brought thither by the natives); and a splendid city arose, rivalling in magnificence the towns of the mother country, but of which not a vestige remains, save the memory of the name, the cane-fields on the site of the former capital being still termed *Seville*." *

The government of Don Juan d'Esquimel was considered mild and conciliating towards the natives; and in pursuance of his designs for the advancement of the colony, he encouraged the culture of cotton, and introduced the sugar-cane and the vine, together with European cattle, which, with propitious skies and a fruitful soil, was more abundantly compensative than all the treasures which, at such an awful sacrifice of

their hands in use. They were eager in displaying an emulation, which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow, and wagers frequently depended on this horrid exercise. It is impossible for words to express the indignation and disgust excited by such merciless cruelty. If any of these unhappy Indians, goaded by their sufferings, and driven to despair, attempted resistance or flight, their unfeeling murderers hunted them down with dogs, who were fed on their flesh. Weakness of age, and helplessness of sex, were equally disregarded by these monsters. And yet they had the impudence to suppose themselves religious, and the favourites of heaven! Some of the most zealous of these adorers of the Holy Virgin forced their unhappy captives into the water, and after administering to them the rites of baptism, cut their throats the next moment, to prevent their apostacy! Others made and kept a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning, in honour of Christ and his twelve apostles! But let us turn from this scene of human depravity; a scene the most remorseless and cruel ever displayed on the theatre of the world."

* Bridges.

life, his predecessors had wrung from the bowels of the earth. Unhappily both for the Indians and the colony the rule of Don d'Esquimel was short. He expired about the year 1519, at his own estate, on the south side of the island, situated in front of a beautiful bay called Sevilla d'Oro, or Esquimel, now Old Harbour, where he had established a ship-building settlement, and was there interred. Under his mild and comparatively equitable government the colony had greatly prospered. In the short space of ten years three vessels had been fitted out under his direction, manned by 270 seamen, with a view to other conquests, and two new towns were established as branches of Sevilla d'Oro; Blewfields or Oristan, on the south; and Melilla or Martha Brae, near Falmouth, on the northern coast of the island. Esquimel was succeeded in the Government by an individual of a very different character and spirit, the cruel and avaricious Francis de Geray, a Spaniard who had rapidly advanced himself to wealth and importance as the partner of the celebrated Dias, the proprietor of the famed gold-mine of St. Christopher, in Hispaniola.

In 1523, Sevilla d'Oro and the other settlements on the coast suffered greatly from a banditti of French privateers or flibustiers, allured by the prospect of spoil. Oristan and Manilla were successively razed to the ground; and at length the capital itself yielded to the ravages of these lawless corsairs. A safer retreat became necessary than could be afforded by contiguity to the sea, and Diego finally fixed the site of the new settlement near the

extremity of a fertile plain, on the south side of the island, which was watered by the clear streams of an impetuous river. It rapidly rose in estimation and importance, and was called by its founder St. Jago de la Vega, or St. Jago of the Plains, to distinguish it, as is supposed, from St. Jago de Cuba. Three years after this event Don Diego Columbus died, and, owing to several circumstances connected with his decease, the prosperity of the country declined, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the new capital, St. Jago de la Vega. Here, in sixteen years from its foundation, industry and wealth had been so stimulated by the security which its situation afforded, that it soon rivalled Sevilla d'Oro when in its greatest magnificence, and gave the title of Marquis to the grandson of the Great Discoverer.

On the first possession of the island by the Spaniards the aboriginal inhabitants were estimated at from 80,000 to 100,000; and, as an evidence of the atrocities they suffered at the hands of their merciless conquerors, they are represented by the historian Gage, writing in 1637, as having been, in the year 1558, entirely exterminated:

> Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
> Auri sacra fames!

Hence, owing to European wars and the predatory incursions of hordes of freebooters and privateers, the colony was subject to various vicissitudes until 1596. Shortly before this period the effective strength of the settlers was augmented by the arrival of a considerable

number of Portuguese, owing to a union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, by which the territorial right of the island was vested in the royal house of Braganza. The trade of the colony was thus greatly increased, and chiefly consisted of ginger, tobacco, sugar, lard, and hides, whilst the domestic animals, swine, horses, and horned cattle, originally brought from Hispaniola, had so multiplied as to overrun the island. The capital, thus again feeling the influence of increasing wealth, far exceeded its former prosperity and magnificence.

Hitherto, from various causes, Jamaica had never attracted the invasion of a foreign European power; but its fame for wealth and prosperity now became known to Sir Anthony Shirley, a British admiral, who, being at that time cruising in the neighbourhood, invaded it with a large fleet, and effected an easy conquest of it at Passage Fort. Plundering the capital and the most accessible parts of the country of its treasure, he left it for richer conquests. Thirty-nine years afterwards, during which, under the government of Don Arnoldo de Sasi, the town rose to its highest state of prosperity, it was invaded in a similar manner by Colonel Jackson, who, at the head of 500 men, after a desperate engagement with the Spanish garrison there of very superior force, also effected his landing at Passage Fort, and committed the same excesses.

The termination of the next twenty years, from whatever cause it might arise, saw the inhabitants of this flourishing colony enervated by sloth, and oppressed by poverty. The population of the whole

island did not now exceed 1500 Spaniards and Portuguese, the same number of mulattoes and negro-slaves, and eight families of the higher classes. The latter, called Hidalgos, possessed the entire island, which was divided into as many patos or districts between them.

A new era in the history of the island approached. Owing to a succession of provocations and injuries on the part of Spain—as well, as is supposed, to re-establish the maritime supremacy of England (now greatly enfeebled), by adding to her colonial possessions, and thus to establish an equality of right to the navigation of the American seas—Cromwell fitted out an expedition for the subjugation of Hispaniola. The armament consisted of 6500 men, and was committed to the command of Admiral Penn and General Venables. Failing in their attempt on the capital of the Spanish settlements, for which they were afterwards committed to the Tower, they attacked Jamaica on the 3rd of May, 1655, which capitulated after a trifling resistance. It thus became an appendage to the British Crown, after it had been in possession of the Spaniards 146 years. From the terms of the negociation and the delay that occurred in the ratification of the treaty, the conquerors were disappointed in their expectations of booty. The inhabitants had conveyed away into the woods every thing valuable they possessed. Disease, famine and party feuds resulted from the excesses committed by the British army; and these, added to the defenceless state of the island, led to renewed efforts on the part of Spain to regain her lost possession, but without success. For a time its new occu-

pants revelled in luxury; but, subsequently, dissipated by indolence and crime, and at length enfeebled by disease and poverty, they became but little superior to the savage monsters they supplanted. Thus, among other evidences of their barbarity, Colonel D'Oyley sanctioned the introduction of blood-hounds into the country, for "the hunting of the negroes," as it was savagely expressed in one of the public documents of the time.*

Hitherto, from the conquest of the island by the English, it had been under the influence of a military government. A civil administration was now to be formed, and Colonel Edward D'Oyley was elevated to the office of governor, which took place in 1661. Jamaica now became the rendezvous of buccaneers, and the resort of piratical crusaders; a desperate band of adventurers composed of men from all the maritime powers of Europe. These marauders continued their depredations until the year 1670, when peace was made with Spain. They intercepted the Spanish galleons in their transit with the precious metals to Europe, pillaged towns and villages, and multiplied the number of negro-slaves. The character of the white population at this time was deplorable—

* The following orders, extracted from the records of the State Paper Office, will convey a curious picture of the spirit and manners of that age :—

"Aug. 14. An order signed Edward D'Oyley, for the distribution to the Army of 1701 Bibles.

"Aug. 26, 1659. Order issued this day unto Mr. Peter Pugh, Treasurer, to pay unto John Hoy the summe of Twenty Pounds sterling, out of the impost money, to pay for fifteene doggs, brought by him for the hunting of the negroes."

composed of disbanded soldiers, Spanish refugees, hordes of pirates and buccaneers, convicts, and indented servants, and the dregs of the three kingdoms, who exhibited every kind of excess, and perpetrated almost every degree of wickedness.

In the feuds so rife in England between the Republican and Royalist parties the colonists participated with the utmost rancour. It must, however, be said, to the honour of Charles, on his Restoration, that he confirmed D'Oyley in the government, and removed the existing asperities by an impartial bestowment of some valuable immunities. In September, 1662, Governor D'Oyley was succeeded in the administration of affairs by Lord Windsor, who was deputed to effect a beneficial alteration in the form of government. This nobleman appointed judges of quarter-session and a magistracy; established a militia; divided the island into parishes, and granted patents of land; investing it with a complete municipal character. The first assembly was convened under authority of the King in Council in 1664, by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Charles Lyttleton. It consisted of thirty members and a speaker, who enacted laws which received the sanction of the King. Its sittings were divided between the seat of government and Port Royal, for the mutual convenience and benefit of the public. Under the administration of Sir Thomas Modyford, a wealthy planter from Barbadoes, a serious dispute arose between the Colonial Legislature and the Crown on the subject of taxation, and the parties by whom the supplies thus raised were to be controlled. In 1670

peace was proclaimed with Spain; and it was found necessary for its preservation, as well as for other reasons, to discourage the marauding expeditions of the pirates already noticed, who, now in the height of their successes, infested the seas of the New World, and poured forth their ill-gotten treasures into Jamaica.

The most notorious chieftain of these was Morgan, whose name is intimately connected with the history of the islands. He was born in 1635, and was a native of Wales, of the clan of the Morgans of Tredegar; and, by his extraordinary exploits both by sea and land, was afterwards elevated to the dignity of Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica. At this period, although the island had been possessed by the British but fourteen years, and had been cradled amidst storms and difficulties almost inconceivable, it exhibited a degree of prosperity truly astonishing. The white population was 15,198; its effective sea and land forces, 5221; and negro-slaves, 9500. Of sugar, pimento, cocoa, indigo, and other properties, there were from 150 to 200. In the following year, 1671, on the accession of Sir Thomas Lynch, still more effective measures were employed for the extension of agriculture and commerce. Very important regulations were also introduced into the laws for the better protection of property and life.

Morgan, the late pirate and buccaneer, raised to the honour of knighthood for his conquest of Panama, succeeded to the government. His administration was brief, and distinguished for little but an attempt to

increase the cultivation of the north side of the island, and for quelling an insurrection of the slaves. He is stated by some historians to have died at Port Royal, where he had resided for several years as a peaceful citizen; and by others to have expired in England a miserable victim to the influence of the Spanish Court.

Morgan was succeeded by Lord Vaughan and the Earl of Carlisle; and it was under the administration of the former that the African Company was formed which legalized the Slave Trade. In 1688 the Duke of Albemarle arrived as governor, appointed by his patron James II. He rendered himself unpopular by his bigoted zeal in favour of Popery, and interrupted for a time the peace and prosperity of the country. Commerce, however, received under his administration a new stimulus by an extensive immigration of Jews; and Sir Hans Sloane, his Excellency's private secretary, increased the boundaries of natural history by adding to it his excellent collection of plants.

In addition to the calamities experienced by the planters and inhabitants generally from the predatory incursions of the Maroons, now considerably augmented in number by the desertion of slaves from the lawless tyranny of their possessors, they were visited by a succession of calamities still more dreadful and desolating. Port Royal, long the rendezvous of the buccaneers, the mart of the new world, and which had become proverbial both for its wealth and its wickedness, was swallowed up by an earthquake with 3000 of the inhabitants of the island. It occurred about midday on the 7th June, 1692. The sky,

which a little time before was clear and serene, was suddenly overshadowed with partial darkness, exhibiting faint gleams of red and purple. The sea was calm. The Governor and Council were met in session. As on the day that Noah entered into the ark, the inhabitants were immersed in their various schemes of business and pleasure; the wharves were laden with the richest merchandise; the markets and stores displayed the splendid treasures of Mexico and Peru; and the streets were crowded with people. On a sudden a roar was heard in the distant mountains, which reverberated through the valleys to the beach. The sea immediately rose, and in three minutes stood five fathoms over the houses of the devoted town. Nearly the whole city was deluged, while the spectacles of corpses, mangled by the concussion of the earth, with the shrieks and lamentations of the sufferers, were awful beyond expression. Although no air was in motion, the sea was agitated as by a tempest. Billows rose and fell with such violence that the vessels in the harbour broke from their moorings; one of the vessels of war, the Swan frigate, was forced over the tops of the sunken houses, and, as if in mercy to the sufferers, afforded them a refuge from still impending danger. Of the whole city, which a few minutes before consisted of 3000 houses, not more than 200 with the fort were left uninjured. The greater part of the wealth and property of the city was destroyed, and, what was more to be regretted, because irreparable, all the official papers and records of the island. The whole country felt the shock and shared the effects of the awful visi-

tation. The current of rivers was intercepted, and new channels were formed; hills were driven together with a crash surpassing thunder; mountains were riven to pieces, and, falling into the valleys beneath, involved the destruction of hundreds of inhabitants; whole settlements sunk into the bowels of the earth; plantations were removed from their situation, and all the sugar-works were destroyed; in a word, the outline of everything was changed, and the whole surface of the island almost entirely subsided. The sunken houses of the city on a fine clear day are distinguishable beneath the surface of the ocean. Putrefying bodies, exposed in the suburbs of the towns and floating in the harbour, generated a noxious miasm, which swept off 3000 of the sufferers who yet remained. As a sad and lasting memorial of this awful calamity, Green Bay, on the opposite side of the harbour, exhibits the tomb of Louis Caldy,* who was almost miraculously preserved from a watery grave in the midst of the catastrophe.

Scarcely had the colonists recovered from the panic and distress into which they were thrown by the earthquake, than they were threatened by the calamities of war. The French General, M. Ducasse, Governor of St. Domingo, invaded the island with a power-

* The following is the epitaph copied from his tomb, situated at a place called Green Bay, opposite the harbour of Port Royal, which the Author has repeatedly visited :—

"Here lieth the body of Louis Caldy, Esq., a native of Montpelier, in France, which country he left on account of the Revocation. He was swallowed up by an earthquake which occurred at this place in 1692; but, by the great providence of God, was, by a second shock, flung into the sea, where he continued swimming until rescued by a boat, and lived 40 years afterwards."

ful armament. He committed the most wanton and aggravated cruelties, and thus added to the miseries already entailed upon them by the elements of nature and the ravages of disease. He was finally routed by the bravery of the militia at Carlisle Bay, one of the south-side ports. For several years afterwards the colony experienced a succession of favourable events. Port Royal rose again from its ruins, agriculture and commerce were re-established, and the appearances of wealth and splendour revived. This period of peace and commercial prosperity extended through almost a century, and was interrupted only by the party feuds that arose from the exactions of the parent state. In 1702 Port Royal was almost entirely destroyed by fire, occasioned by an explosion of gunpowder that was carelessly exposed to the action of the sun in the roofs of stores covered with a light resinous wood. Devastated in August, 1722, by a tremendous hurricane, and almost depopulated by an epidemic disease that immediately followed, the seat of commerce was finally transferred to Kingston, which began to be founded after the calamity of 1692.

Under the mild and salutary administration of the Duke of Portland, a bill passed the House of Assembly, and received the sanction of the Crown, that was regarded as the "Magna Charta" of Jamaica; one of the effects of which was to annihilate the unhappy differences which had so long existed between the colonists and the government at home.* A succession

* The Revenue Bill, which granted to the colony the immunities of British law.

of favourable events followed the war with Spain; whilst the subjection of the Maroons, who had so long harassed the island, having been effected under Vice-Admiral Vernon and Governor Trelawney, Jamaica attained unexampled prosperity, comprising in 1742, besides abundant wealth, a population of 14,000 whites and 100,000 slaves. In 1751 Admiral Knowles attempted to remove the seat of government to Kingston, but was finally compelled to abandon his purpose by the remonstrances and threats of the populace. Insecurity of life and property is the inevitable result of so unnatural and atrocious a system as that of slavery, and another insurrection of the slaves occurred, which threatened the destruction of the entire white population. It was speedily subdued, but the atrocities perpetrated in retaliation by the whites would excite a shudder of horror at their recital even at this distance of time. The success of the British arms during the war perpetuated the prosperity of the colony, and led to some important improvements. Various public buildings were erected at St. Jago de la Vega; the banks of the Rio Cobre were adorned by groves of aromatic trees and elegant villas and farms; sugar estates were established extensively on the north side of the island; and peace and plenty shed their blessings over the land. In 1763 Fort Augusta, the large military establishment which occupies a promontory at the entrance of Kingston Harbour, was destroyed by the explosion of its magazine, containing 3000 barrels of gunpowder, ignited by lightning. By this catastrophe hundreds of the residents of the garrison were

killed and wounded, and immense property was destroyed.

The number of negro slaves annually imported into Jamaica at this period amounted to 16,000, so that within thirty years the slave population had increased from 99,000 to upwards of 200,000, whilst the total numerical strength of the whites did not exceed 16,000.

England being involved in a war with her North American Colonies, Jamaica was threatened with an attack from the combined fleets of France and Spain, commanded by Count de Grasse. The designs of these powerful enemies, however, were frustrated by Lords Rodney and Hood, who gained a signal victory over them off Dominica, on the 12th of July, 1792. A marble statue was subsequently erected to Lord Rodney in the square at Spanish Town, or St. Jago de la Vega, to commemorate the event,* and a splendid present was made to General Archibald Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor, for the preparations he had made in defence.

His late Majesty William IV., then a midshipman in the navy, visited Jamaica about this period, and had abundant evidence of the loyalty of its inhabitants, who subsequently presented him with a star of the value of a thousand guineas. The year 1795 was distinguished by another war with the Maroons, occasioned by the intemperate policy of Earl Balcarres, which ended in the banishment of that high-minded people to Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone.

Although tranquillity was again restored, the colo-

* This statue was executed by Bacon, and cost 3000 guineas.

nists, from the very circumstances of their condition, were continually subject to alarm. Their connection with the slave-trade—their gross oppressions of their bondsmen—and the position of the island in reference to the whole of the New World—all contributed to their insecurity; but the revolution at St. Domingo (now Hayti), and the general state of affairs in Europe, presented an aspect that threatened them with inevitable ruin. Although, however, the worst apprehensions were not realised by the occurrences in the neighbouring island, the expenditure occasioned by the destruction of so many of the public works, by the disastrous conflicts within and around them, added to the state and luxury in which the greater part of the inhabitants now revelled, very materially diminished their prosperity, and their ruin was only averted by a loan of 300,000*l.* from the parent Government. A fire, which nearly consumed the town of Montego Bay—an apprehended invasion of the French from St. Domingo—a conspiracy among the slaves in Kingston—the abolition of the slave-trade, and the victories of Lord Nelson and Admiral Sir Thomas Duckworth over the French fleets destined to the conquest of the island—are almost the only occurrences deserving of historical record to the year 1823. The events which have transpired from that time to the present will be recorded elsewhere. It is, however, not unworthy of remark in the conclusion of this sketch, and that chiefly as an evidence of the great impolicy as well as injustice of slavery, that nearly thirty insurrections of the slave population occurred within the period of its

possession by the British, and that the insurrection in 1832 involved the lives of 700 of the slaves, and an expense of 161,596*l.*, independently of the value of property destroyed, which was estimated at 1,154,583*l.*, thus rendering a further loan of 300,000*l.* from the parent Government necessary to meet the exigencies thus occasioned. The whole past history of Jamaica and of the West India islands in general, like the prophet's roll, "is filled with lamentation, and mourning, and woe." It presents only a succession of wars, usurpations, crimes, misery, and vice; 'nor in this desert of human wretchedness is there one green spot on which the mind of a philanthropist would love to dwell;' all, all is one revolting scene of infamy, bloodshed, and unmitigated woe, of insecure peace and open disturbance, of the abuse of power, and of the re-action of misery against oppression. "Slavery, both Indian and negro, that blighting Upas, has been the curse of the West Indies; it has accompanied the white colonist, whether Spaniard, Frenchman, or Briton, in his progress, tainting, like a plague, every incipient association, and blasting the efforts of man, however originally well-disposed, by its demon-like influence over the natural virtues with which his Creator had endowed him—leaving all cold and dark, and desolate within."*

The following are the names of the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and temporary rulers of Jamaica, with the years when they commenced their administrations:—

Governor, Colonel D'Oyley, 1660; Governor, Lord

* Martin's Colonies.

Windsor, 1662; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir C. Lyttleton, Knt., 1662; President, Colonel Thomas Lynch, 1664; Governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, Knt., 1664; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir T. Lynch, Knt., 1671; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. Morgan, Knt., 1675; Governor, Lord Vaughan, 1675; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. Morgan, Knt.; Governor, Charles Earl of Carlisle, 1678; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Morgan, Knt., 1680; Governor, Sir Thomas Lynch, Knt., 1682; Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Hender Molesworth, 1684; Governor, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, 1687; President, Sir Francis Watson, 1688; Governor, William Earl of Inchiquin, 1690; President, John White, Esq., 1692; President, John Bourden, Esq., 1692; Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Beeston, Knt., 1693; Governor, William Selwyn, Esq., 1702; Lieutenant-Governor, P. Beckford, Esq., 1702; Lieutenant-Governor, T. Handasyd, Esq., 1702; Governor, Lord Arch. Hamilton, 1711; Governor, Peter Haywood, Esq., 1716; Governor, Sir Nicholas Lawes, Knt., 1718; Governor, Henry Duke of Portland, 1722; President, John Ayscough, Esq., 1722; Governor, Major-General Robert Hunter, 1728; President, John Ayscough, Esq., 1734; President, John Gregory, Esq., 1735; Henry Cunningham, Esq., was appointed Governor in 1735, but President Gregory was succeeded by Governor Edward Trelawney, Esq., 1738; Governor, Charles Knowles, Esq., 1752; Lieutenant-Governor, Henry Moore, Esq., 1756; Governor, George Haldane, Esq., 1758; Lieutenant-Governor, Henry Moore, Esq., 1759; Governor, W. H. Lyttle-

ton, Esq., 1762; Lieutenant-Governor, R. H. Ettelson, Esq., 1766; Governor, Sir William Trelawney, Bart., 1767; Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Dalling, 1773; Governor, Basil Keith, Knt., 1773; Governor, Major-General Dalling, 1777; Governor, Major-General Archibald Campbell, 1782; Lieutenant-Governor, Brigadier-General Alured Clarke, 1784; Governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, 1790; Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Williamson, 1793; Lieutenant-Governor, Earl of Balcarres, 1795; Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General G. Nugent, 1801; Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir E. Coote, 1806; Governor, Duke of Manchester, 1808; Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General E. Morrison, 1811; Governor, Duke of Manchester, 1813; Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General H. Conran, 1821; Governor, Duke of Manchester, 1822; Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Sir John Keene, 1827; Governor, Earl of Belmore, 1829; President, G. Cuthbert, Esq., 1832; Governor, C. H. Earl of Mulgrave, 1832; Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Sir Amos Norcott; Governor, Marquis of Sligo, 1834;* Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir Lionel Smith, Bart., 1836; Governor, Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, 1839; Governor, James Earl of Elgin, and Kincardine, 1842.

* Martin's Colonies.

CHAPTER III.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY.

Scenery—Mountains—Rivers—Springs—Cascades—Harbours.

It is said that Columbus, when he first discovered the Islands of the Western world, was so enraptured with the beauty and magnificence of the scenery as scarcely to be persuaded but that he had reached the fabled regions of romance. Hence the glowing description which he transmitted to his royal patrons, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. "These countries as far exceed all others in beauty and conveniency as the sun surpasses the moon in brightness and splendour." Never will the writer forget the feelings of wonder and admiration with which he first beheld Jamaica, the most beautiful of the group. He was standing on the deck of the vessel as she entered the harbour of Port Morant, at its eastern extremity. It was at an early hour of the morning, the land wind had died away, and not a breath swept the glassy surface of the dark blue sea. Before him stood the Blue mountains rising by an almost abrupt acclivity from the water's edge, their tops enveloped in clouds, and covered from their base to their highest elevation with huge forest-trees and shrubs of novel appearance and beauty, partially ob-

scured by the dense fog that crept along their sides. On either hand, as far as the eye could distinguish, the margin of the sea was fringed with the mangrove-tree, interspersed with occasional clumps of the cocoa-nut and mountain-palm; far along the enchanting panorama were dwellings that now caught and reflected the first rays of the sun; while ever and anon, the full tide played in white breakers or in silver crescents on the shore.

As you proceed towards Port Royal the landscape becomes more diversified. The mountain range which intersects the island appears at intervals disjointed, and diminished also in its altitude, presenting numerous romantic inequalities beautified by the art of man. Here, amidst a wild wilderness, are extensive cane-fields and verdant pastures of Guinea grass. There, on the summit of a hill overlooking irrigated and verdant fields redeemed from the forest around, and adding a fresh charm to the landscape, stands some bold edifice in the midst of a cluster of substantial buildings resembling the lordly possessions of feudal times, whilst at a little distance, but half discovered amidst the thick foliage of the cocoa-nut groves which marked their site, and the purple darkness of the inland hills, appear groups of smiling villages. An extensive savannah next presents itself, partly covered with wild luxuriance, a stream of water rushing precipitately down the deep and darkly shaded ravines of the contiguous hills upon its level bosom; whilst in the distance the very summit of the cloud-capp'd mountains, now diverging from the shore crowned with deep woods

and covered with perpetual verdure are disclosed, whilst beautiful mansions amidst pimento and coffee plantations, an imposing military establishment, with here and there a rural sanctuary lifting up its tall spire above, display themselves through their woody enclosure. Amidst these are cottages and buildings of diversified appearance and size variously distributed. A range of summits stretching far inland to the west, the Healthshire hills at the entrance of Port Royal harbour, an extensive promontory before us, and the almost illimitable horizon to the south, terminate the novel and stupendous scene.

In the interior of the island the splendour and beauty of the prospect is, if possible, increased. At every successive step the traveller seems to breathe a purer air and to survey a brighter scene. Here the barren, the fertile, the level and the inaccessible, are commingled. On the one side is seen a fine valley or glade, fertile and irrigated, stretching along the foot of craggy and desolate mountains covered with immense rocks slightly intermixed with a dry, arid, and unfruitful soil; on the other, a narrow and precipitous defile, or deep and gloomy cavern where the sun's rays never penetrate, both enclosed by abrupt precipices, overhanging rocks, and impervious woods. In this direction the country is varied with ridges of low forest hills rising gradually from the horizon, flat, level, and standing detached like islands. Yonder an extensive valley presents itself as if enclosed by a lofty amphitheatre of wood along which a river flows, meandering until lost between two parallel lines of mountains,

as though from the bosom of a vast lake, it had forced its passage through them to the sea.* In the more cultivated districts, as viewed from an eminence, the scene is lively and animating beyond description. The negroes in gangs are employed in the fields cutting canes or weeding pastures, numerous herds of oxen with other domestic animals graze on the shorn fields or browse on the verdant slopes; an endless diversity of hill, valley, mountain, and defile, interspersed with clusters of the bamboo cane and towering cocoa palms which gracefully wave their feathery plumes in the breeze, copses of underwood, pastures shaded with lofty trees, plantain-walks, ruinates and extensive fields of sugar-cane, of fresh and variegated foliage, chequer and adorn the entire landscape. At a greater distance, the extensive and beautiful valley, rich in the products of the soil, opens to the eye. The morning mists which still partially hang over it, have the illusive appearance of a vast lake resting on its bosom, or a beautiful bay with its islands floating on the surface of the quiet waters. Behind are the majestic heights, losing themselves by degrees in the clouds distributing light and shade in endless contrast, and presenting to the ravished eye a picture every moment glowing with new attractions. At a still greater distance appears the ocean with the shipping, its waters calm and unruffled, or tossed into fury by the winds. The high mountainous district in general presents to the beholder the sylvan beauties of coffee and pimento plant-

* Sixteen mile Walk between Spanish Town and Bog-walk Tavern in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale.

ations, with groves of orange and other fruit trees, which at some seasons of the year breathe the perfumes of Arabia. Along the coast to the N. E., N. W., and S., as viewed from the sea, broken and irregular mountains rising from the midst of lesser elevations, their summits crowned with perpendicular rocks of every variety of shape and form which the wildest imagination can conceive, are contrasted with the beautiful and verdant clothing of the open glade, round topped hills, smiling villages, numerous cascades, mountain streams, and roaring cataracts. The unimaginable luxuriance of the herbage, the singular exotic appearance of all around, the green-house-like feel and temperature of the atmosphere and the fresh flush of vegetable fragrance wafted from the shore, are all calculated to regale the senses, exhilarate the spirits, and diffuse through the soul a strange delirium of buoyant hope and joy. Jamaica, in a word, may be reckoned among the most romantic and highly-diversified countries in the world, uniting the rich magnificent scenery which waving forests, never-failing streams, and constant verdure can present, heightened by the pure atmosphere, and the glowing tints of a tropical sun.*

"Beautiful islands! where the green
Which nature wears was never seen
'Neath zone of Europe; where the hue
Of sea and heaven is such a blue

* A gentleman, on his return from Jamaica, being asked to describe its surface, (in imitation of Columbus when he described the appearance of Dominica to Isabella of Spain,) did so by crumpling a sheet of paper in his hands—a representation than which nothing could give a better idea of the jagged and compressed appearance of its conical mountains.

As England dreams not; where the night
Is all irradiate with the light
Of stars like moons, which, hung on high,
Breathe and quiver in the sky,
Each its silver haze divine
Flinging in a radiant line,
O'er gorgeous flower and mighty tree
On the soft and shadowy sea!
Beautiful islands! brief the time
I dwelt beneath your awful clime;
Yet oft I see in noonday dream
Your glorious stars with lunar beam;
And oft before my sight arise
Your sky-like seas, your sea-like skies,
Your green banana's giant leaves,
Your golden canes in arrowy sheaves,
Your palms which never die, but stand
Immortal sea-marks on the strand,—
Their feathery tufts, like plumage rare,
Their stems so high, so strange and fair!
Yea! while the breeze of England now
Flings rose-scents on my aching brow,
I think a moment I inhale
Again the breath of tropic gale."

The great series of mountains which intersects the island from east to west is, at its highest elevation, nearly 8000 feet above the level of the sea; but there are other extensive ranges of inferior elevation sometimes connected with the larger series, and at other times independent of it. These mountains, some of which exhibit proofs of volcanic origin, vary in their elevation from 2000 feet and upwards. The highest is the Coldridge, at the eastern extremity of the island;* the St. Catherine's Peak, to the north of Kingston; the Cedar-valley-ridge, in the county of

* The summit of the Coldridge is said to be 8184 feet above the level of the sea.

Middlesex, and parish of St. Catherine, on which stands the village of Sligoville; the Bull's Head, in the parish of Clarendon, nearly in the centre of the island; the Dolphin's Head, in the neighbourhood of Lucea, in the parish of Hanover; and Yallahs Hill, on the south-east coast of the county of Surrey. In some of them are to be found magnificent natural excavations.

The rivers, including springs and rivulets, have been estimated at upwards of 200 in number—about 40 are of the largest class. From the mountainous nature of the country, and the huge masses of rock that frequently obstruct their course, they are often precipitous, and exhibit numerous and beautiful cascades, now flowing on in unmurmuring peacefulness, and anon bursting headlong in the foam and thunder of a cataract. On the north side of the island, near to the spot immortalized by the shipwreck of Columbus and the city of Sevilla d'Oro, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent waterfalls are beheld at the same moment. Very few of the rivers, however, are navigable. Among those that are available for this purpose, the principal is Black River, in the parish of Saint Elizabeth, which is navigable for thirty miles towards its source, but only by flat-bottomed boats and canoes. The others are the Rio Cobre and the Rio Minho, on the south; and Martha Brae, White, Ginger and Great River, on the north. Before leaving this subject it may be interesting to advert to two natural curiosities in St. Anne's parish, which Dr. Coke thus describes:—

"The first is a surprising cascade, formed by a branch of the Rio Alto, or High River, which is supposed to re-emerge (after a subterraneous current of several miles) between Roaring River Plantation and Menzies' Bog. The hills in this quarter are many of them composed of a stalactite matter; by whose easy solution the waters oozing through the rocks are copiously charged with it, so that they incrustate all bodies deposited in them. The source of this river is at a very considerable elevation above the level of the sea, and at a great distance from the coast. From thence it runs between the hills successively, broad or contracted, as they on each side approach nearer, or recede further from one another. In one of the more extended spaces it expands its water in a gentle descent among a very curious group of anchovy pear trees, whose spreading roots intercept the shallow stream in a multitude of different directions. The water thus retarded deposits its grosser contents, which, in the course of time, have formed various incrustations, around as many cisterns, spread in beautiful ranks, gradually rising one above another. A sheet of water, transparent as crystal, conforming itself to the flight of steps, overspreads their surface; and, as the rays of light or sunshine play between the waving branches of the trees, it descends glittering with a thousand variegated tints. The incrustation in many parts is sufficiently solid to bear the weight of a man; in others it is so thin that some persons, whose curiosity induced them to venture too far, found themselves suddenly plunged up to the waist in a cold bath. The sides of

the cisterns, or reservoirs, are formed by broken boughs and limbs incrusted over; and they are supported by the trunks of trees promiscuously growing between them. The cisterns themselves are always full of water, which trickles down from one upon another; and although several of them are six or seven feet deep, the spectator may clearly discern whatever lies at the bottom.

"The laminæ which envelope them are in general half an inch thick. To a superficial observer their sides have the appearance of stone; but upon breaking any of them there is found either a bough between the two incrusting coats, or a vacant space which a bough had once filled, but which having mouldered away after a great length of time, had left the cavity. After dancing over these innumerable cisterns the pellucid element divides itself into two currents, and then falling in with other neighbouring rivulets, composes several smaller, but very beautiful falls.

"The other cascade, though so named by the inhabitants, may be more properly denominated a cataract, similar to that of the Rhine at Shaffhausen, in Switzerland. It proceeds from the White River, which is of considerable magnitude; and, after a course of about twelve miles among the mountains, precipitates its waters in a fall of about 300 feet, obliquely measured, with such a hoarse and thundering noise that it is distinctly heard at a very great distance. Through the whole descent it is broken and interrupted by a regular succession of steps, formed by a stalactite matter, incrusted over a kind of soft chalky stone, which

yields easily to the chisel. Such a vast discharge of water, thus wildly agitated by the steepness of the fall, dashing and foaming from step to step with all the impetuosity and rage peculiar to this element, exhibits an agreeable, and, at the same time, an awful scene. The grandeur of this spectacle is also astonishingly increased by the fresh supplies which the torrent receives after the rainy seasons. At those periods the roaring of the flood, reverberated from the adjacent rocks, trees, and hills; the tumultuous violence of the cataract rolling down with unremitting fury; and the gloom of the overhanging wood, contrasted with the soft serenity of the sky, the brilliancy of the spray, the flight of birds soaring over the lofty summits of the mountains, and the placid surface of the basin at a little distance from the foot of the fall, form an accumulation of objects most happily blended together, and beyond the power of words to express. To complete this animating picture drawn by the hand of Nature, or rather of Nature's God, a considerable number of tall and stately trees, beautifully intermixed, rise gracefully from the margin on each side. The bark and foliage of these trees, are diversified by a variety of lovely tints; and from the basin itself two elegant trees of the palm species appear like two straight columns erected in the water, and towering towards the sky, planted at such equal distances from the banks on each side, that the hand of art could not have effected, by rule, more exactness and propriety in the positions.

"Another celebrated curiosity in this parish is the wonderful grotto near Dry Harbour, about fourteen

miles west from St. Anne's Bay. It is situated at the foot of a rocky hill, under which it runs a considerable way; it then branches into several adits, some of which penetrate so far that no person has yet ventured to discover their termination. The entrance has a truly Gothic appearance: it exhibits the perpendicular front of a rock, having two arched entrances about twenty feet asunder, which seem as if they had been formerly door-ways. In the centre of the rock, between these portals, is a natural niche about four feet in height, and as many from the ground. In this niche, it is conjectured, that a Madona was placed at some early period of time; especially as there is a small excavation in the form of a basin at the foot of the niche, projecting a little beyond the surface of the rock, and seeming to be a proper reservoir for the holy water of the Roman Catholics. But this idea implies the workmanship of art, and that the grotto was anciently inhabited, neither of which circumstances is to be traced in Long's detailed description of the interior recesses, which does not materially differ from the descriptions of other grottos and subterraneous cavities in various parts of the globe."

In accordance with the original designation of the island, springs are abundant, especially in the parishes of Kingston, St. Andrew, St. Mary, St. George, and St. Anne. They are found amidst the highest mountains, and meander through almost every ravine: several of them possess medicinal properties, as the Milk River, in the parish of Vere, which is thus denominated from its warmth and colour. The bath-springs, two in

number—one cold, the other hot—are in the parish of St. David, and give to the village in which they are found its designation—Bath. They are sulphureous and chalybeate, and have been found highly beneficial in several disorders, particularly in those of a cutaneous kind, and in visceral obstructions.

The water flows out from the hot spring at a temperature of 120. They are subfluvian, and would doubtless, if chemically investigated, disclose important geological phenomena. Bath is situated in one of the healthiest and most beautiful spots on the island, and is a great resort for invalids recovering from sickness. It is indeed considered of so much importance to the public, that it is supported by a yearly grant from the House of Assembly.

The harbours are numerous, and many of them are among the most secure and extensive in the West Indies. The principal of these are Kingston, Port Royal, Old Harbour, Port Antonio, and Lucea. "The total number is sixteen, besides thirty bays, roads, or shipping stations, which afford good anchorage." Kingston is a vast basin, protected by Port Royal and a narrow slip of land called the Palisades, on the one hand, and the Healthshire Hills and the promontory, on which stands the battery of Fort Augusta, on the other. Port Royal is defended in a similar manner. Old Harbour, or the Sevilla d'Oro of Don Juan de Esquimel, which was the rendezvous of the Spanish galleons, has been denominated the best in the world; and but little inferior to these are the roadsteads of Port Antonio and Lucea.

CHAPTER IV.

VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL PRODUCTIONS.

Sugar-cane, Coffee, Cocoa, Pimento, Cotton—Indigo, Drugs, Corn, Grasses—Garden Vegetables—Fruit, Flowers, Trees—Animals: Wild, Domestic—Birds: Wild Fowl, Domestic—Fish—Reptiles—Insects.

THE vegetable and animal productions of the island are too numerous to detail. The principal of the vegetable productions is the sugar-cane, the "arundo saccharifera" of Linnæus. It was first introduced into St. Domingo about the year 1520 from Asia, where it had been cultivated from the earliest ages, and from thence into Jamaica in the early part of its settlement by the Spaniards. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, the edges of which are finely and sharply serrated. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. Its height is from three to seven feet, and, when ripe, is of a fine straw colour. At successive periods since the possession of the island by the British, several other varieties of this valuable plant have been introduced from the South Sea Islands and elsewhere. Having been the staple commodity of Jamaica and the other West India Islands for a series of years, the circumstances of its cultivation are too

well and generally known to render a description necessary. In the highlands, and on the mountainous slopes, the coffee-plant flourishes in almost every variety of soil, and usually yields abundant crops. It would attain the height of fourteen or fifteen feet, but to increase its productiveness it is seldom suffered to exceed four or five feet. The leaf is a dark green. It bears a profusion of white blossoms, and afterwards the berry covered with a red sweetish pulp. This valuable plant was introduced into Jamaica by Sir Nicholas Lawes in 1728, who cultivated it on his own estate called Temple Hall, in Liguanæ. The cultivation of cotton, indigo, and cocoa or chocolate, which were once valuable articles of export, have long since been discontinued, in consequence, as it is said, of the heavy duties with which they were charged. Of the sixty cocoa-walks which, according to Blome, existed in 1672, not one remains, and scarcely a trace of the once numerous indigo factories. Drugs, dye-stuffs, and spices of various kinds of excellent quality, here flourish in great profusion. Of corn, the Indian maize only is productive; oats, barley and Victoria wheat have been tried in the highlands, but have not yet been cultivated with success. The principal grasses cultivated are a valuable species accidentally introduced from Guinea, whence it derives its name, and the Scotch grass; among the indigenous varieties are the pimento and a delicate species, called the Bahama grass, of exquisite tint, and which, by throwing out elastic fibres, weaves itself into a verdant carpet which rivals in beauty the finest English lawn. Most of the

European vegetables grow in the mountainous regions at comparatively little trouble and expense, and a succession of crops may be produced throughout the year—cabbages, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, cucumbers, leeks, radishes, carrots, lettuce, celery, asparagus, peas, potatoes, &c. &c. The only exceptions of importance are the onion and the cauliflower. But in addition to the European esculents are some of native growth by no means inferior, as the chocho or vegetable marrow, ocro, Lima bean, Indian kale, tomato, or love-apple of the ancients, plantains, bananas, yams of several varieties, calalue (a species of spinage), cassada, and sweet potatoes.

The fruits of Jamaica are delicious and most abundant; and, as with the vegetables, every month presents a fresh collation. Some species are at maturity during the entire year; and not unfrequently are to be seen at the same time on the same tree blossoms and fruit in all stages of growth. There are the bread-fruit, the cocoa-nut, the avocado pear, the custard apple, the mango, the guava, the lime, the lemon, the orange, the citron, the shaddock, the tamarind, the soursop, the sweetsop, the Spanish plum, the guava, the cashew, the papaw, the pomegranate, the grape, the fig, the wall and chesnut, the mulberry, the naseberry, the star-apple, the date, the olive, the melon, the pine-apple, the granadilla, &c., &c. Few of the European fruits are to be found, except the apple and the strawberry, and these are degenerated both in size and flavour. In different parts of the island there is an adaptation of soil and climate to the vegetable

productions of almost every region of the globe, and it is a matter of regret that hitherto such little attention has been paid to the improvement of horticulture. Among other plants much might be said of the advantages that would result from the cultivation of the sun-flower as a substitute for corn, as well as for medicinal purposes.

The *trees* of the island, of which there is almost an infinite variety, are peculiarly novel in their appearance to an European stranger; there is scarcely one which he can identify with any in his own land. Among the most beautiful, both for ornament and use, are the pimento or allspice-tree, the papaw, the tamarind, the cocoa, and the palmetto royal. The pimento attains considerable height, and is covered with a dark green foliage, often relieved by its delicate white blossom. The spice is a small berry which grows in bunches, and when ripe is like the elder-berry in size and colour. Even the leaves of this lovely tree when pressed emit a strong aromatic odour. In the country they are disposed in different compartments, or in groves crowning the hills and scattered down the declivities, exhibiting a clean verdant carpet of grass beneath. When swept by the breeze they shed their spicy fragrance through the air, imparting a charm to nature truly indescribable. So powerful, indeed, is the aromatic atmosphere of these groves, that they admit no herbaceous production to thrive within their shadow. The papaw produces a delicious fruit growing as a fungus below its capital of long stemed, and broad green leaves. The tamarind, besides its fruit, with its umbrageous and delicate leaves af-

[Cocoa-Tree.]

fords a delicious shade both to man and beast. The cocoa or chocolate-tree is a native of South America. It somewhat resembles the English cherry-tree, and requires a good soil as well as a moist and sheltered situation. The mango-tree (Magnifera Indica) resembles in form the horse-chesnut-tree: its fruit is about the size of a goose's egg, and some of its varieties not unlike an orlean plum in flavour. The palmetto royal, with its verdant capital of waving branches, which sometimes attains the height of upwards of 140

feet, furnishes also a delicious vegetable. The bombax ceiba, or silk-cotton-tree, the baobab, and the wild fig-trees, are of gigantic size. The ceiba, when hollowed out, has been known to furnish a boat capable of containing one hundred persons. The branches of the baobab, or great calibash, extending horizontally, are each, as with those of the ceiba, equal to a large tree. The most remarkable of the trees is the mangrove. It grows in inundated spots along the sea, and propagates itself by its seed in an astonishing manner. Its elastic branches also bending downwards upon the loose muddy soil around, strike root and grow, and thus the original plant diffuses itself in every direction and form. The cedar, the mahogany, the black and green ebony, the lignum vitæ, the fustic, the logwood, are too well known to require description. In addition to these, and which are used in building and in ornamental cabinet-work, are the iron-wood, dog-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, brazilletto, mahoe, and bully trees, some of which are so compact in grain that they will sink in water. The bread-nut, the wild lemon, the wild tamarind, and others of a softer description, are not less valuable for other purposes. Altogether there are fifty varieties of excellent timber available to the architect, the millwright, and the cabinet-manufacturer.

Many of the huge forest-trees display thousands of parasitical plants in endless varieties, with flowers of the most delicate and gorgeous hues. Some of the creepers entwine themselves round the trunks of these giants of the vegetable world, and, throwing out their tendrils

from the branches on all sides, attach themselves to the ground, presenting the appearance of immense cables, as if designed to protect these kings of the forest from the fury of the elements.

Of all the plants of smaller growth, perhaps the bamboo cane is the most ornamental and useful. Nothing can present a more exquisitely beautiful appearance than clumps of these rising from eighty to a hundred feet in height, and yielding their graceful plumes to the breeze, while at the same time they afford shade and fodder for cattle, and supply some of the most essential wants of the husbandman.

Aromatic shrubs and flowers of every variety of size, and which are raised with difficulty in the hot-houses of England, cover the face of the ground; but generally speaking, they are "born to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the desert air." After the autumnal rains the whole interior of the country presents the appearance of an immense garden, while the surrounding atmosphere is perfumed with the most fragrant odour. Very few of the European varieties are cultivated, but they might be introduced with considerable success. It is lamentable that in a country where nature has lavished the choicest of her beauties, and afforded such facilities of ornament, that so little taste has been displayed by the inhabitants, and so little inclination manifested to avail themselves of these advantages. Among the less attractive, indeed, but not less useful plants of the wilderness, is the wild pine, which, like the "lovely lotus in the boundless and arid wastes of Africa, enshrines in her bosom the

crystal drop for the relief of the thirsty traveller." * Some of them are said to contain a quart of water, and will retain it in certain situations during weeks of drought. It was from these sources that the maroons were supplied with refreshment during the extremities to which they were frequently reduced in their conflicts with the white inhabitants. The most lovely of the indigenous tribes are the granidilla, or double passion-flower; the night-blowing ceres; the African rose; and some of the species of convolvolus and acacia; the cassia alata, with its golden clusters; and the splendid mountain-pride. Of all the flowers of indigenous growth, however, none present such an assemblage of floral splendour as the great aloe (agáve Americana). When in blossom they have a most magnificent and striking appearance. The author has seen several in full blossom at one time. The spikes shoot out from the centre of the plant, to the height of from twelve to fifteen feet, and bear branches of flowers in a thyrsus. The flowerets are of a bright yellow colour, and of a tubular shape. Each spike produces hundreds of these brilliant ornaments of nature. Emphatically may it be said:—

> "This is the land where citrons scent the gale,
> Where dwells the orange in the golden vale,
> Where softer zephyrs fan the azure skies,
> Where myrtles grow and prouder laurels rise."

Of *wild animals* there were originally but eight species:—the monkey, the armadillo, the opossum, the peccari, the agouti, the aleo, the musk-rat, and

* Hodgson.

the racoon. The only kind of importance that now remains is the wild hog. A large species of this is numerous throughout the woods of the interior, and very destructive to provision-grounds. On this account, as well as for sport, they are sometimes hunted; but the animal being of immense size, and furnished with large tusks, such excursions are extremely dangerous to the assailants. The domestic quadrupeds are of European origin, and thrive equally with those of the temperate zone. The drudgery of plantation-work, and the conveyance of produce to the barquidiers, is usually performed by oxen and mules.

It is notorious that, with the exception of the nightingale, or mocking-bird, (turdus polyglottus), that extraordinary phenomenon of animate nature, but few of the feathered tribe are distinguished by the variety and melody of their notes. Their plumage, however, is exquisitely beautiful, and their number, in addition to their variety in size and colour, affords a fine field for the gratifying pursuits of the ornithologist. The green parrot, the banana-bird, the green todie, the small martin, and the different species of the humming-bird, are the most attractive. The beauty and elegance of the latter, in form and plumage, defy description, exhibiting alternately, as it flutters and shifts its position to the sun, all the colours of the rainbow, in exquisite combination—now a ruby, now a topaz, now an emerald, now all burnished gold.

——"On their restless fronts
Bear stars illumination of all gems."

Some of them are not larger than a moderately-sized

beetle, and weigh not more than twenty grains. The most beautiful is the long-tailed species. It has plumes of about six inches long, crossing each other and expanding themselves into a fan-shaped tuft. They are otherwise distinguishable by their long and slender bills. The mandibles of the bill are finely toothed, or serrated on their edges, and their tongues, which are capable of considerable extension, are terminated by a small fork. This beautiful bird might be much more appropriately called the Bird of Paradise than that which has now the honour to bear the name.

All European domestic fowls are abundant. Wild-fowl are to be found during some seasons of the year in countless numbers, and most of them are considered of delicious flavour. Here is the wild guinea-fowl, several varieties of the wild pigeon and dove, of the duck, the widgeon, the plover, the quail, the snipe, and the ortolan. The ring-tailed pigeon is considered the most exquisite of the winged species. Aquatic birds of the pelican, the flamingo, the gull, the stork, the heron, and the crane kind, abound in the neighbourhood of the coast. Many carnivorous birds are found, but of the buzzard varieties (the cathartes of Wilson) only one is known. This is vulgarly called the "John Crow." Though disgusting in its appearance, it is of such utility in clearing the country of putrescent carcases, that any person wantonly destroying one is by an act of the legislature subject to a penalty of three pounds sterling.

The sea-coast, rivers, bays, creeks, with the ponds

of sea and fresh water, abound with fish. Of these the calipaver, the mullet, the king-fish, barracoota rock-fish, grouper, jew-fish, the white-bait, and the snapper, are the most delicious, equalling any of the best description in Europe. The flying-fish, the dolphin, the sword, the parrot, the sun, and the boneeto, are among the second class; and the john-a-dory, the cutlass, the old wife, the torpedo, and the porpoise, among the third.

The sea-monsters are the sea-cow, the devil-fish, and the shark. The sea-cow (Trichecus manati) is of enormous size, and resembles the animal from which it derives its name, both in its form and in the quality of its flesh. It is amphibious, and is often found grazing on the banks of rivers. The devil-fish is flat, of amazing breadth, and altogether disgusting in appearance. It is harpooned like the whale, and yields a valuable oil. Among these might with propriety be classed the sword-fish. One of these was caught in Kingston harbour some months since, measuring from the point of the sword to the tail 11 feet 10 inches; length of the sword 3 feet 5 inches; extreme breadth at the shoulder 1 foot 7 inches; weight 270 lbs. Sharks are numerous, and are of immense size and of great voracity. One of these monsters was caught some time ago near Old Harbour full 10 feet in length, and about the girth of the largest sized man. There were found in his stomach, on opening him, fifteen asses'* hoofs and legs from the knee

* Asses and mules are imported in large numbers from the Spanish Main: probably this huge creature had supped heartily after a shipwreck.

downwards, half an undressed cow-hide, rolled up for tanning, and a piece of beef of about six pounds' weight. Both sea and land turtle are plentiful, as also oysters, craw-fish, and land-crabs. The oysters are small, and are usually found attached to the roots and stems of the mangrove, which, obtruding themselves into the sea, the oysters fasten upon them. This has given rise to the representation of oysters growing on trees. Turtle is plentiful in the neighbourhood of Kingston and Old Harbour: it feeds on sea-grass. The female lays an almost incredible number of eggs—it is supposed between 800 and 900. They are caught in nets, by the harpoon, or by the hand, by torchlight. When laid on the back they are incapable of effecting their escape. There are two or three species of the land-crab. That distinguished by the name of the mountain-crab, and which is found in particular districts on the north side of the island, has been considered the greatest delicacy in the world. The habits of these animals are remarkable. In their retreats in the mountain districts, which are generally about one or two miles from the beach, they inhabit the earth and the stumps of trees. They go down to the sea once a year to deposit their spawn, and perform their march in a straight line with the exactest order, allowing no obstacle that can be surmounted to obstruct their course, even climbing over houses and precipitous rocks. Here they remain until the young ones have attained sufficient size and strength for the journey, when they return to their habitations followed by the young fry. They begin to spawn in December

and January, and during these months, until May, are considered fit for the table, but are in their greatest perfection in the season of moulting. Another species is found on the south side of the island, but of inferior quality. During the rainy season they swarm, and afford abundant food to the poorer classes of both town and country. By some creole families they are kept for months in barrels, or some other place of security, and, being fed with corn and the refuse of vegetables, are almost as great a delicacy as the mountain species. "These are often found in grave-yards, and feed and fatten on the dead. Hence, while in England the dead are said to be food for worms, in Jamaica they are represented as food for crabs."*

Reptiles are numerous, but few of them are venomous. Among these are the numerous lizard tribe; the guano, the camelion, the galliwasp, and the alligator, or caymen. Of snakes, the silver, the black and the yellow. Of the smaller reptiles, the centipede and the scorpion. The alligator is the giant of the *saurian* race; it infests the rivers and lagoons near the sea, and is frequently to be found in the neighbourhood of Kingston, Old Harbour, Salt River, and Alligator Pond, on the southern coast. They are from twelve to fifteen feet in length, and, notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, do not hesitate, under certain circumstances, to attack man, as on the authority of the public prints two or three individuals have been killed by them within the last three years. The female generally lays between thirty and forty eggs; she deposits them

* Martin's Colonies.

commonly in some sunny spot on the sea-beach, covering them over with sand. They are hatched by the heat of the sun in about thirty days after they are laid, at which time both the male and female alligators return. As soon as the young ones are hatched they are borne by the female on her back into the sea, when she teaches them to swim. The eggs have a highly enamelled surface, are of a whitish colour, and about the size of those of the Muscovy duck. The smaller species of lizard is so domesticated that it may be considered a regular inmate of every dwelling, as are also centipedes and scorpions. The stings of the latter have been known to occasion death. Snakes will sometimes defend themselves against an attack by man, but their bite is rarely known to prove fatal. The yellow snake sometimes grows to the length of ten feet; it is remarkably indolent, and is killed and eaten by some of the African tribes. These reptiles are numerous in some districts, and not unfrequently infest dwelling-houses in the country. The writer has in two or three instances found them in houses which he has occupied, and once narrowly escaped having a black snake for his bedfellow. An occurrence of this kind is related as having actually taken place. A large yellow snake finding its way through the jealousies* of a plantation-house, coiled itself up on the bed in which a gentleman was sleeping: feeling something press heavily upon him in the morning, he opened his eyes, and to his amazement and horror beheld a

* A large description of fixed Venetian blind.

huge snake close upon his body. He was so terror-stricken that he could neither move nor call for assistance, and in this situation continued until relieved by a negro servant, who had come into his apartment to ascertain the cause of his not having left his room at his usual hour. It is scarcely necessary to add that the reptile atoned for its temerity by its life.

Insects crawl upon the ground and float in the atmosphere as numerous as dense forests, gloomy caverns, stagnant waters, and a tropical sun can quicken them into life. Ants, cockroaches, fire-flies, mosquitoes, sand-flies, chigoes, spiders, bees, and wasps. Ants cover the whole surface of the soil, and so completely infest the repositories of food, that the ingenuity of industrious and cleanly housewives is severely taxed for expedients to preserve them from their depredations. The white, or wood-ant, displays on a larger scale the arts and organization for which the species is so famed in England, and is particularly destructive to houses. Cockroaches are another formidable foe to domestic cleanliness and economy. The fire-fly is a beautiful and harmless insect, of a greyish colour, and about the size of a common beetle. It emits a brilliant light from two globular orbs just above the eye; and the millions of them that in the country flutter among the trees and in the cane-fields on a dark night have a most interesting appearance. They resemble a kind of second firmament of luminous points moving with all the eccentric courses of comets and meteoric balls, and with all the glory that tracks the shooting stars—

"And every hedge and copse is bright
With the quick firefly's playful light;
Like thousands of the sparkling gems
Which blaze in eastern diadems."

The light which they emit is so considerable that the cruel practice exists among the negroes of making them subserve the use of candles by securing a number of them in a glass or other transparent vessel. The way in which they are most easily caught is by blowing a fiery stick, thus keeping up a kind of intermitting light similar to that produced by themselves. But of all the insect tribes the most annoying is the mosquito, especially to new-comers. It would appear that they have an aversion to blood in which the serum is in excess through disease, or in which the blood is otherwise changed in its constituent principles; as it consists with universal experience that a European newly arrived is much more liable to their attacks than a native, or an individual who has been for any length of time in the country. It is scarcely distinguishable from the common gnat by ordinary observers. They sometimes fill the atmosphere; and, being furnished with a proboscis for puncturing the skin, attack the uncovered parts of the body, or those but slightly defended, and cover them with blisters, which create such an intolerable itching as have occasioned very serious consequences to the sufferers.

As a necessary protection against their attacks by night the beds are commonly surrounded by curtains of light gauze, or, as it is called, mosquito-net. In some situations, owing to their numbers and the fierceness of their attacks, the sensation they produce is

scarcely endurable; and the only means of obtaining partial relief is by kindling a fire, and creating clouds of smoke. The bite of the small black spider and tarantula is sometimes fatal. The cell of the latter is perhaps one of the greatest of natural curiosities. Bees are numerous; and, if cultivated and preserved from ants and other enemies, would become a source of considerable profit.

The sand-fly is a very minute dipterous insect, which abounds on the sea shore. It is formidable from its numbers: puncturing the skin in the same manner as the mosquito, and occasioning the same sensations as that insect.

The chigo is a species of *acarus*. It penetrates the skin of the toes and feet; once secured in the cavity it has thus formed, it constructs a bag or nest,—there deposits its eggs, and hatches a numerous progeny. The bag is extracted by a needle; and, when full grown, is of the size and appearance of a blue pea. If suffered to remain in the flesh for any length of time, its progeny would so augment, each young one producing a separate bag, as to occasion violent inflammation, and probably amputation of the limb.

The guinea-worm (filaria aredinensis) a dangerous and disgusting animal, is parasitic in man. It has been found in negroes imported from Africa from six to twelve feet in length. It is usually found in the thick part of the leg, or round the eye, and sooner or later destroys the life of its victim.

CHAPTER V.

DIVISIONS.

Counties—Parishes—Roads—Towns—Villages—Houses; exterior appearance and interior arrangement.

The island is divided into three counties—Middlesex, Surrey, and Cornwall; and these are subdivided into twenty-three parishes. It contains six towns and twenty-seven villages, independently of those which have been recently established by the peasantry. The principal of the old settlements are St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, the capital; Kingston, Port Royal, Montego Bay, Falmouth, Savanna-la-Mar, Lucea, Morant Bay, Port Antonio, Annotto Bay, Port Maria, St. Anne's Bay, Black River, and Old Harbour.

Spanish Town is situated on the banks of the Rio Cobre, nearly at the extremity of a noble plain, bounded by the Cedar Valley Mountains on the N. and N.W., and is six miles distant from the sea at Port Henderson and Passage Fort. A large square occupies the centre of the town, formed by public buildings in the Spanish American style, which are extensive, and display considerable architectural taste. Government House*—including beneath the same roof

* See engraving.

the Council Chamber, Court of Chancery, and various other offices—occupies the whole of the west side. It is considered the most substantial and commodious of any building of a similar kind in the West Indies, and was erected by the colonists at the cost of 50,000*l*. A range of equal extent, called the House of Assembly, but which includes the County Court-House, and the offices of judicial and other functionaries, stands directly opposite. At one end of the northern range is the Arsenal and Guard-House; at the other, the offices of the Island Secretary, connected by a temple that contains a statue of Lord Rodney, erected in commemoration of his victory over the French fleet in 1782, and a beautiful semi-circular colonnade. Corresponding with this, to a considerable degree, is a range on the south side, containing magnificent rooms for public amusements, and offices for miscellaneous public purposes. A considerable portion of the area thus formed contains a garden in beautiful order, intersected by gravel walks. Ornamented by choice trees, flowers, and shrubs, and protected from spoliation by elegant palisades, it creates a rational source of recreation and amusement to the *élite* of the town, for which they are indebted to the taste and public spirit of Mr. Custos Ramsay. The Barracks, the Church, the Wesleyan Chapel, and the premises of the Baptist Missionary Society, in addition to a few beautiful villas that adorn the suburbs of the town, are the principal objects of attraction to the stranger. The population is estimated at about 10,000.

Kingston, the great commercial city, and which contains a population of about 40,000 inhabitants, stands on a gentle slope of the Liguanea Mountains (immediately in the rear), which form a part of the highest ridge of the Blue Mountain chain. It is terminated on the east by a small battery, called Rock Fort; on the west by an extensive lagoon on the road to Spanish Town and Passage Fort; and on the south by Fort Augusta and the narrow channel by which it is approached from Port Royal, from the latter of which it appears almost enclosed by a semi-circular ridge of mountains.

The streets are long, formed in straight lines, intersecting each other at right angles. As with Jamaica towns in general, many of the streets are narrow and dirty; and all of them being at the same time unpaved, and infested with domestic animals, reflect but little credit on the city authorities. The houses of the principal inhabitants are chiefly two stories high, and are enclosed with spacious verandahs in the French and Spanish style. The Church,* the Chapels of Ease, the Scotch Kirk, two of the Wesleyan and one of the Baptist chapels, are large, substantial, and beautiful buildings, as are also the Court House, the Military Establishment at Up Park Camp, and the villas, half hidden by the aromatic trees and shrubs that adorn the skirts of the town, and the slopes of Liguanea.

Port Royal occupies the extremity of the narrow

* Beneath the altar of the church lies Admiral Benbow, and in another burying-place is a tomb which bears the arms and name of the noble family of the Talbots.

peninsula which is connected with the main land on the east of Kingston and Port Royal harbours. The town, but a miserable wreck of its former greatness, is ornamented with several large and beautiful buildings belonging to the naval and military departments, together with some handsome and capacious private houses. It presents an imposing appearance from the sea; groves of cocoa-nut trees in stately columns, waving their verdant branches among the buildings; but the streets are irregular and narrow, and the town altogether possesses but little claim to cleanliness. Once a place of the greatest wealth and importance in the New World, it is now perhaps the poorest and most wretched; an occurrence which, owing to the short-sighted policy of the Legislature, and the "spirit and manners of the age," was consummated by the removal of the dock-yard to Canada, and its consequent abandonment as the chief naval station in the West Indian and North American colonies.

Montego Bay towards the N. W. extremity of the island, and the chief town of the parish of St. James, is situated nearly in the centre of an amphitheatre of mountains, opening only in one direction towards the sea. It is considered a flourishing and opulent town; the private buildings are in general neat and picturesque, having usually a garden in front, displaying flowering shrubs, shaded by aromatic trees. The streets are wide and tolerably clean. With the exception of the Baptist Chapel, the Court House, and the parish church, it contains no public buildings of magnitude and importance. The square and the market-place

are spacious and conveniently situated, but require a little more of the elaborations of art to render them agreeable as places of resort, whether for purposes of business or pleasure.

Falmouth, formerly Martha Brae, stands on the west side of the Harbour, and is the chief town and sea-port of the parish of Trelawney. It is of considerable magnitude, and is increasing both in extent and commerce. The houses are mostly built of wood, and are two stories high, neat in external appearance, but, as is the case in general on the north side of the island, exhibiting a very unfinished interior. The character of the town is American. It contains some good public buildings among which, are the Church, the Baptist and Wesleyan Chapels, the Scotch Kirk, the Court House, and the Barracks. It possesses also the convenience of a supply of fresh water for domestic purposes by means of an hydraulic machine. As at Montego Bay, the stores and shops are well supplied with merchandize and the town presents a clean and rural appearance.

Intersected by several fine rivers, and nearly surrounded by mountains and hills enclosing a highly cultivated district, the neighbourhood of Savanna-la-mar is interesting if not imposing, but the town, the principal one of the parish of Westmoreland, situated on an alluvial flat on the beach, is low and unhealthy. It was once nearly destroyed by an earthquake, and seems now ready to submerge in the sea. Some good and substantial houses occupy the principal street which runs in a straight line from the shore, and some pleasant villas

are seen in the suburbs, but it is not distinguished for its public buildings, or its social and parochial regulations. The Baptist Chapel, a neat and substantial building, was lately destroyed by fire, but it has been rebuilt, and is an ornament to the town. Lucea, Saint Anne's Bay, Port Maria, and Port Antonio, the chief town of the parish of Hanover, St. Anne's, St. Mary, and Portland are next in consideration, all of which are increasing rapidly in extent and importance, and are among the most picturesque and improving on the island.

The houses in general are of various style and construction. In the country they are built chiefly of wood. In some instances they are raised on a foundation of stone, in others on pedestals of stone or wood from two to six feet from the ground. The buildings of estates are usually of stone, and in the towns on the south side of the island they are principally of stone or brick. For the admission of light and air, some are protected from the sun and rain, either wholly or in part, by jealousies, or by these and sash windows, with Venetian blinds. To most of the houses is attached either a piazza enclosed by jealousies or an open colonnade. These, being usually painted green and white, present a neat and interesting appearance. The inner apartments commonly consist of a spacious hall, a sitting-room, with bed-rooms, and other smaller apartments; many of them are elegantly furnished, and exhibit floors of polished mahogany and cedar. The kitchen, accommodation for the servants, and rooms for domestic and other purposes, are situated at a dis-

tance from the dwelling-house, or are, at least, detached from it, and usually form three sides of a square in the rear of the dwelling-house, leaving a court-yard in the centre, shaded by an umbrageous tree. Altogether, the interior of the towns and villages in the island is far from being prepossessing to a stranger, especially as compared with the towns and villages of the other islands, exhibiting the unsightly aspect of dirty streets, noisy inhabitants, and miserable hovels intermixed with substantial and spacious houses. In their external appearance, however, most of the towns and villages present to the eye of an European a picture inexpressibly refreshing and lovely, adorned by the cocoa-nut-tree, the palm, the orange, the shaddock, the lime, together with the umbrageous tamarind, the box, and the kenap, which intercept the fierce rays of the sun and afford a shadow which the panting inhabitants both appreciate and enjoy; whilst, in their suburbs studded with sugar and coffee plantations, the eye roams over fields of fresh and vivid green, every where interspersed with groves of towering cocoa-palms, plantains, and bananas of rich and variegated foliage, mingled with plants and flowering shrubs of every diversity of form, tint, and perfume.

The *Roads* in Jamaica are a disgrace to a civilized community, and militate considerably against its agricultural prosperity. Immense sums of money are annually voted from the parochial taxes and the general revenue for their repair, but to little purpose. Even the lines of communication between the principal towns are very little better than river courses which

place the life of every traveller in jeopardy. Deaths from this cause indeed are of frequent occurrence. Proposals were made by the legislature at its last sitting to remedy this great public inconvenience; and it is hoped that the arrangements for the purpose will be economical, effective, and permanent.

The whole island presents evident appearances of Volcanic origin,* and on the summit of one of the mountains in the parish of St. George, about 3000 feet above the level of the sea, there exists the appearance of an extinct crater. It has never been known, however, to exhibit any volcanic action. Great variety of soil is found in the island. In some districts it is chalky and calcareous, in others, a brick loam of a chocolate colour prevails. Some of the hills are composed of a red uncohesive earth containing a mixture of carbonate of iron. A deep black vegetable mould and a purple loam of extraordinary vigour usually occur in valleys in the immediate neighbourhood of the high mountain ranges. This quality of soil is not unfrequently found in other situations, and is best adapted for the growth of the sugar-cane and coffee. In the mountain districts a substratum of

* "The appearance of these tropical islands," says the estimable author of 'A Winter in the West Indies,' "rising suddenly from the sea, and forming steep pyramidal elevations, sometimes of bare rock, other times covered with greenness, leads one to trace their existence to some vast impulse from below. There can be little doubt, I suppose, that they are in general of volcanic origin; and that they are not of that fathomless antiquity to which some of the geological strata pretend, is plainly evinced by the circumstance that the fossil shells and corals, which are found embedded in their mountain tops, are often precisely the same kinds as are still discovered in the Caribbean seas."

dark rich mould of considerable depth is found studded with large masses of lime-stone rock, usually cultivated as provision-grounds. A fine earth is found by the Rio Cobre in Spanish Town, as also in the neighbourhood of Kingston, from which excellent bricks are made. Many of the mountains are covered with lime-stone, and in some places on the coast they oppose an abrupt barrier to the sea. They consist generally of secondary lime-stone, associated with deposits of sand-stone, and are commonly of calcareous formation. In addition to the white lime-stone as one of the principal rocks, is the graywacke and the trap-rock, the latter of which indicates the action of fire. Bastard marble, subcrystalline spar, and lamellated amianthus, occur in some of the parishes in large masses. Marl is formed in many parts of the island, and strata of argillaceous earth. Whole mountains are also composed entirely of carbonate of lime. Rock-spar is abundant in the parish of St. Anne; and in other parts, white free-stone and quartz. The former on the north side of the island forms whole strata, and constitutes rocks of amazing magnitude. Maritime and land shells abound in the great alluvial plains, and coral banks, and madrepores, those magnificent ornaments of the sea, are found in several parts near the coast, as are numerous vestiges of organic bodies; whilst on the tops of the mountains both animal and vegetable fossils of an extraneous kind occur. Caves and caverns, some of them of very considerable extent, and which are supposed to be connected with the early history of the aboriginal inhabitants, are

numerous, and would abundantly repay the investigations of the geologist.

Several varieties of lead and iron ores are contained in the mountains of Liguanea near Kingston, as also several species of copper ores and striated antimony. A lead-mine was opened some years since in the same parish; but it was discontinued, more, it is supposed, on account of want of enterprise and public spirit than from any deficiency either in the quality or abundance of the mineral. A copper-mine in the same neighbourhood is now in progress of being worked, and, *if prosecuted with vigour*, promises considerable pecuniary advantages to the company by whom its operations are undertaken. "The Healthshire hills," says Bridges, "are reported to have furnished the copper which composed the bells of the Abbey church in Spanish Town."

Particles of golden mica have been found in districts near the source of the Rio Cobre, and sometimes, near Spanish Town, it has been seen incorporated with potter's clay. Gold and silver particles were evidently found in different parts of the country by the Spaniards, especially in the bed of the Rio Mina in Clarendon, as the remains of lavaderos or basins are still to be seen in which they were cleaned from their soluble and extraneous cohesions.

Situated within eighteen degrees of the equator, it will naturally be conceived that the *climate* is of a higher temperature than that of Europe. The thermometer ranges in the lowlands, throughout the year, between 70° and 80° of Fahrenheit, and in the mountains variously, according to their elevation, from 50°

to 75°. Were it not for the sea and land breezes, which blow the greater part of the day and night, alternately, throughout the year, and the masses of cloud which often interpose between the fierce rays of the sun, the heat in the towns on the coast, during some seasons of the year, would be almost insupportable. The sea breeze usually blows on the south side of the island, from the south-east. It commences in the morning and gradually increases until the middle of the day; it then diminishes, and dies away at about five o'clock. The land breeze usually sets in between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, increasing until midnight, and ceases about four in the morning. The former of these breezes is occasioned by the cold air moving towards those parts in which the air is rarefied by the sun's heat; and the latter by the hot rarefied air of the plains ascending to the summits of the mountains, where, being condensed by cold, and made consequently specifically heavier, it descends back in a current to the lowlands. The balmy freshness and salutary influences of these currents can scarcely be conceived by those who have never experienced the fervent heat of the torrid zone.

The air is usually buoyant and elastic, almost uniformly equal in pressure, and exerting an enlivening influence on the spirits. The temperature of the mountains alternates at some periods of the year eight or ten degrees; but, unlike many parts of the United States, in the same degree of latitude, it is not subject to sudden transitions. The coolest and most pleasant

months range from November to April, and the hottest and most insalubrious from May to October.

During the intervals that elapse morning and evening, between the blowing of the sea and land breezes, as well as during the middle of the day, at all seasons of the year, the heat in the lowlands is dreadfully oppressive, but in the earlier hours of the morning, from four to seven o'clock, the coolness, freshness, and fragrancy of the air is delightful. Owing to the great rarity of the atmosphere there is no twilight, and the shortest day is of two hours' less duration than the longest, thus averaging twelve hours from January to December. There is a difference of four hours and a half in the time of Jamaica and England. When it is 8 o'clock A.M. in ~~London~~ Kingston it is ½ past 12 P.M. in ~~Kingston~~. The thermometer of Fahrenheit seldom varies throughout the whole year more than ten degrees. In the hottest months, on the plains, the difference between the temperature of noonday and midnight is not greater than six degrees. The medium temperature of the air may be said to be 75° of Fahrenheit. In the hottest months, July and August, it is sometimes as high as 100° in the shade, and in the mountains it has been known as low as 49°.

Considerable variation is observable in different parts of the island in the *seasons of the year*. Some individuals divide them into four, as in Europe, but generally they are distinguished by wet and dry. The wet seasons range from May to June and from October to November. They are usually preceded, especially in

the spring, by coruscations of lightning and peals of thunder, reverberating from peak to peak of the distant mountains, truly appalling to a stranger in the tropics. The horizon thickens with lurid clouds that roll their dense masses along the troubled atmosphere; suddenly the tempest bursts; the rain falls in torrents—sometimes almost without intermission for eight or ten successive days, at other times during a period of several hours each day through several weeks. In the former case torrents dash down the ravines of the mountains with dreadful impetuosity, tearing up huge forest-trees in their course, forming hundreds of cascades, rendering rivers impassable, and deluging the towns and villages of the plains. Fifty inches of water, it is estimated, fall on an average throughout the year. The war of elements, as it has been often witnessed at these seasons by the writer, from the summit of a high mountain chain, is awfully and almost inconceivably imposing. Vast masses of clouds are collected, and stand like pyramids on the surrounding eminences. A black volume, deeply charged with electricity, passes majestically along, when suddenly pierced by the spiral tops of the fixed groups it acts on them like the discharges of an electric jar, and streaming and vivid lightning pours in all directions through the vast expanse, tearing immense forest-trees to atoms, and carrying swift destruction in its course. At length the clouds disperse, and the clear blue sky appears—the glorious sun again flings abroad his beams, and the tropical summer reigns in all its glory. The sky is now tranquil, and all nature is dressed in her richest livery. Nor is

the night now less serene and beautiful: not a cloud floats over the azure sky; the stars shed their light with but little scintillation; the splendid southern constellation nearly encircles the heavens. Venus, like the moon, throws her shadows from the greater objects around, and the sovereign of night, assuming an almost vertical position, seems to rule as mistress of a milder day. There are, perhaps, but few places on the globe to which these lines of Homer can apply with greater exactness than to a West Indian summer's night:—

"As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heaven's clear azure spreads her sacred light:
When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole:
O'er the dark trees a yellower lustre shed,
And tip with silver every mountain's head:
Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies;
The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light."

With proper attention to dress and diet, with temperance in the use of food, fruit, and wholesome beverage; with care against exposure to the mid-day rays of the sun; with moderate exercise of body and mind, together with other cautions which common prudence will suggest to every reflecting mind—the climate is by no means so insalubrious, nor is the heat so oppressive, as is generally supposed, being more characterized by its duration than its intensity. The reported unhealthiness of the climate has arisen, in a great measure, from the frequent and excessive mortality of the

troops—for obvious causes a very unfair criterion by which to judge. Nor is it to be estimated by its past influence on European life in general, as it would probably appear, on investigation, that the mortality has been in most cases occasioned by intemperance or imprudence.*

In the mountainous regions it will probably vie in point of salubrity with that of any tropical climate in the world; an opinion sustained by Dr. Adolphus, Her Majesty's late inspector-general of hospitals in Jamaica, and by Sir James Clark, Her Majesty's physician: the one from personal experience and observation, the other in his work on the sanitive influence of climate. Sir James Clark recommends it as a safe temporary retreat† to invalids in the early

* Mr. Long remarks, with considerable *naïveté*, and not a little truth, that "The European keeps late hours at night; lounges a-bed in the morning; gormandizes at dinner on loads of flesh, fish, and fruits; loves poignant sauces; dilutes with ale, porter, punch, claret, and madeira, frequently jumbling all together; and continues this mode of living, till by constantly manuring his stomach with such an heterogeneous compost, he has laid the foundation for a plentiful crop of ailments. Not that this portrait serves for all of them: there are many who act on a more rational plan; though almost all transgress in some point or other. They who have attained to the greatest age here were always early risers, temperate livers in general, inured to moderate exercise, and avoiders of excess in eating."

† Sir James, in speaking of the climate of Jamaica, says:—"The temperature of the mountainous districts averages, from January to April, in the early morning, 55 degrees; in the afternoon, 70. From April to June, 60; in the afternoon, 75. From June to September, 65; in the afternoon, 30. From September to December, 68; in the afternoon, 75. This may be considered the mean temperature of a series of years." (P. 313.)—He adds—"Convalescents from other parts of the island often derive considerable benefit from a residence of a few weeks only in this region. It is also a safe temporary retreat for con-

stages of consumption. The principal diseases to which Europeans are here subject are fevers and dysentery, both of which might be considerably alleviated, if not in some instances avoided, by timely precaution. The author has personally known several persons, both white, coloured, and black, who have attained the age of from one hundred to one hundred and forty years. On these accounts, and for reasons relating to temporal circumstances, there is perhaps no part of the world to which European farmers, with small capital and large families, could so advantageously emigrate. The following precautions, by the Rev. M. Hough, B.A., formerly a missionary in the East Indies, with a few alterations may be rendered applicable to the West.

"I have said that life is often endangered by imprudence as well as other causes. This suggests a few observations that may be useful to future missionaries. Many good men, by inattention to their health and heedless exposure to the sun, have incapacitated themselves for labour almost as soon as they have arrived. A missionary may not immediately feel any inconvenience from the heat, but he should not too readily calculate upon exemption from its usual influence upon the European constitution. The power of a vertical sun is indescribable, and very few persons indeed are able with impunity to expose themselves to its fervid

sumptive as well as other invalids. Lucca, also, has a high reputation for salubrity among the inhabitants, and is often resorted to by convalescents. The climate is cool and pleasant, except during the months of July, August, and September." (P. 314.)

rays. A missionary should never go out uncovered during the day. In moving about among the schools and other objects requiring his attention in the immediate vicinity of his home, he ought always to hold an umbrella over his head; and when his duties call him to any distance, he should go if possible in a *covered vehicle. To walk a mile in a tropical sun, with the heat reflected upon you from the ground, and burning your feet as well as scorching you from above,* will generally exhaust the powers of the body, and consequently depress the energies of the mind to such a degree as to render you incapable of attending to the duty you went to perform.

"In tropical climates *regularity* is the grand secret of health. Regularity in *everything*—in exercise, rest, food, and study. In most European constitutions the stomach soon becomes deranged by the excessive heat and change of diet; but its health is most likely to be preserved by a careful attention to the wholesome quality of food, by moderation in the quantity, and regularity in the hours of repast. In his native land a healthy person may despise such precautions, finding them to be unnecessary; but to neglect them in hot countries will soon prove fatal to the constitution.

"*Exercise* should be taken in the cool of the day before sun-rise, and about sun-set. The morning is greatly to be preferred, as the air is then fresh and the ground cool from the dew; whereas in the evening, both are often too much heated to refresh you. In order, therefore, to preserve your health, and keep yourself fresh and active for your important work, you should always be out at day-break, and home again if

possible before the sun has been up half an hour. I have frequently felt exposure to the sun for the first half-hour of the day deprive me of the refreshment received from the previous exercise. Journeys should always be performed early in the morning or towards the decline of the day. To enable you to rise at an early hour you should retire early to rest, otherwise you may suffer as much inconvenience from the want of sufficient sleep as from any other cause.

"The degree and description of exercise to be taken must be regulated by every individual's constitution; in general, *gentle* exercise is most conducive to the preservation of health. It is of great importance to attend to the first symptoms of indisposition. A slight head-ache might be attended with fatal consequences if neglected, as it would generally arise from some obstruction of the system."

Let not these hints be thought irrelevant to our present design. The necessity of attending to his health cannot be too forcibly impressed on a missionary's mind, and cannot be more appropriately given than in a missionary work.

Storms and *Hurricanes** are less frequent in Jamaica than in Barbadoes and some of the other Caribbean islands, or even than they were in Jamaica formerly. They, however, occasionally occur, carrying devastation and misery in their train. To one of these awful visitations of the Almighty, although by no means

* Hurricanes are so called from the Indian word *hurrica*. They are violent tempests of wind, which generally happen a day or two before the full or new moon next the autumnal equinox in August and September.

so terrible and destructive as those which occurred in 1786 and 1815, the author was an eye-witness. It began its desolating course in the middle of the night, and, with the exception of a few short intervals, during which it seemed to be gathering fresh energy in order to renew its assaults with greater violence, continued until nearly the middle of the following day.

It was preceded by an awful stillness occasionally broken by an indistinct sound resembling the roaring of a cataract, or the blowing of winds through a forest, by an intermission of the diurnal breeze,—by an almost insupportable heat, the thermometer standing at between 95° and 100° of Fah.,—by vast accumulations of vapour moving in the direction of the mountains,—by flocks of sea-gulls,—by a deep portentous gloom gradually increasing and overspreading the hemisphere,—by all the omens, indeed, which are said to be their precursors. From three o'clock until nearly the break of day, the lightning was terrific beyond description; illuminating the whole concave of Heaven, and darting apparently in ten thousand fantastic forms, whilst the reverberations of the thunder, echoed back by the distant mountains, seemed to shake the pillars of the earth, as if commissioned to seal the doom of the world. The rain descended in torrents, and an awful, deep, and compact gloom overshadowed the face of nature. The morning of the deluge could scarcely have presented an aspect more dismal. It was a period of fearful suspense and terror. The wind began to blow from the north, but on attaining the acme of its violence, it blew from all parts of the compass, and

carried ruin on its wings. In every direction were dismantled houses, shattered fences, uprooted trees, and the ground strewed with shingles, splinters, branches of trees, fruit, and leaves. The writer's garden was a wilderness, and his dwelling-house shook to its foundation. Every habitation around was closed, every crevice filled up, and every tenant in total darkness. All business was of course suspended, and not an individual to be seen but at intervals, when one cautiously appeared to acquaint himself with his situation, and to view the desolation around. Nothing was to be seen or heard but the pelting of the storm and the continued sighs of elemental tumult.

"Venti vis . . . . .
Interdum rapido percurrens turbini compos
Arboribus magno sternit montesque supremo,
Silvefragis vetat flabris."* Lucretius, lib. i., 1272.

The last earthquake in Jamaica was that of 1692, which engulphed Port Royal; shocks, however, are of very common occurrence, some of such severity as to excite considerable alarm and occasion serious injury. One of the most appalling that has occurred for many years was experienced in the month of February last, which, in conjunction with the unexpected appearance of a comet and the dreadful calamity, in which these awful dispensations of Divine Providence have lately involved several of the windward islands, has created an alarm which it is hoped will operate beneficially upon society at large.

* "Oft through the ravaged plain
The sudden whirlwind sweeps the furious gale,
O'erthrows majestic trees, and with strong blasts
Vexes the lofty mountains."

CHAPTER VI.

POPULATION.

Census of the different Parishes, Stock, Land in Cultivation, Agriculture, Horticulture—Improvements: Implements, Machinery—Present defective State of Husbandry—Thoughts on Immigration.

The number of aboriginal inhabitants on the first possession of the island by the Spaniards has been variously estimated. According to some writers they amounted to several hundred thousand; according to others from sixty thousand to one hundred thousand. But, to the everlasting infamy of the Spanish name, it is recorded that the whole of this immense mass of human beings was entirely exterminated within fifty years of their subjection to their lawless invaders. As previously stated, the first Spanish colony was established by Don Juan d'Esquimel, under the authority of Diego Columbus, and consisted of seventy persons. At successive periods this number was increased, although subject to frequent variations, so that on the conquest of the island by Penn and Venables, the Spanish and Portuguese amounted to 1500, with an equal number of negroes and mulatto slaves. Under the British the population rapidly increased, exhibiting in the short space of seven years a total of 2600 men,

645 women, 408 children, and 552 negroes, with 2917 acres of land under cultivation.

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the mother country during the period of the Commonwealth and the early years of the Restoration, the tide of immigration was very considerable. The total number of slaves imported to Jamaica since the conquest of the island to the abolition of the slave-trade in 1805 was 850,000, and this, added to 40,000 brought by the Spaniards, makes an aggregate of 890,000, exclusive of all births since that period. Immediately after the abolition of the slave-trade, the slave population varied from 300,939 to 322,421.* To the great discredit of the public authorities, no accurate census of the island has been taken for many years, and thus no correct statement can be made respecting it at the present time. It is, however, generally supposed that the aggregate population, including 30,000 whites, is now half a million, which is about seventy persons to a square mile. This proportion is small compared with that in other parts of the world, and even with Barbadoes, where there are 600 to a square mile; so great, however, is the annual increase of population, as to encourage the hope that in a few years it will be more than doubled. Even at the present time it is

* According to the return of the Compensation Commissioners in July, 1835, the number of slaves for which compensation was given was 311,692. Of these about 30,000 were children under six years of age, and of the remainder a little more than one-fifth were non-prædials. The free coloured and black people were estimated at 40,000. Estimating these at 44*l.* 15*s.* 2¼*d.* on an average gave 6,161,927*l.* to Jamaica, as its share of the 20,000,000*l.* compensation, being one-third of the total amount.

fully equal to the demand made upon it for agricultural purposes as well as to the means of its equitable requital.

The *stock* required for agriculture and domestic purposes are oxen, horses, mules, sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, and several European domestic animals. Oxen and mules are almost exclusively used in agriculture, and are generally equal in size and strength to those of Europe. Horses, except by small settlers and draymen or carriers, are principally used for the saddle or drawing gigs and other light conveyances. Mules* are of great value to the planter, being much

* Although this animal, like the species in other parts of the world, is often vicious and untractable, it generally finds its match in the ingenuity and adroitness of its negro rider. The following occurrence, with some slight alterations, is related by the captain of a merchant-vessel:—"The negro boys are the most cunning urchins I have ever had to do with. While my vessel was lying at St. Anne's Bay, Jamaica, I had to go to Port Maria to look for some cargo; and on my way thither, near Oracabessa, I came to one of the numerous small rivers that empty themselves into the little bays along the coast. When at some distance, I observed a negro boy flogging his mule most severely, but before I got up, he had dismounted and appeared in earnest talk with his beast, which, with fore-legs stretched out firm, and ears laid down, seemed proof against all arguments to induce him to enter the water. Quashie was all animation, and his eyes flashed like fire-flies. 'Who-o! you no go ober; Bery well—me bet you fippenny me make you go. No? Why for you no bet? Why for you no go ober?' Here the mule shook his ears to drive away the flies, which almost devour the poor animals in that climate. 'Oh! you do bet—bery well; den me try.'" The young rogue (he was not more than ten years old) disappeared in the bush, and returned in a few seconds with some strips of fanweed, a few small pebbles, and a branch of the cactus plant. To put three or four pebbles in each of the mule's ears, and tie them up with the fanweed, was but the work of a minute. He then jumped on the animal's

more capable of continuous labour than the other beasts of burthen, less choice in their food, and less subject to the casualties of disease. They are imported from England, America, and the Spanish Main, as are also horses, horned cattle, and sheep. Considerable numbers, however, of all descriptions are reared in the colony. The price of a steer for agricultural purposes is about 13*l.*, and of one fattened for the market from 9*l.* to 10*l.* and upwards. Beef is from 6*d.* to 7*d.* per lb.; veal at 1*s.* Horses, according to their size and breed, may be had at prices varying from 12*l.* to 100*l.*, and mules from 15*l.* to 50*l.* and upwards.

Sheep have a degenerated appearance compared with those of England, but their flesh is savoury. When well managed they are very prolific, and, con-

back, turned round, put the plant to the animal's tail, and off they went, as a negro himself would say—'*Like mad, Massa!*' Into the water they plunged—the little fellow grinning and shewing his teeth in perfect extacy. Out they got on the other side; head and ears down—tail and heels up—and the boy's arms moving about as if he was flying; and I lost sight of him as he went over a rocky steep at full gallop, where one false step would have precipitated them into the sea beneath, from whence there would have been but small chance of escape. A butcher's boy is nothing to a negro boy in these exploits.

"About two hours afterwards I reached Port Maria. There I saw, in an open space near one of the stores, standing, or rather leaning against the wall, Quashie, eating cakes; and there also stood the mule, eating Guinea grass, and looking much more cheerful than when I first saw him at the river side. 'Well, Quashie,' I said, 'you have got here, I see; but which of you won?' 'Quashie win, Massa—Quashie never lose.' But will he pay?' I inquired. 'Quashie pay himself, Massa. You see, Massa Buccra, massa gib Quashie tenpenny bit for grass for mule: Quashie bet fippenny him make him go ober de river. Quashie win. Quashie heb fippenny for cake—mule heb fippenny for grass.'"

sequently, a considerable source of profit to the grazier —30*s.* is the usual price of a full-grown wether, and the mutton is retailed at 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb. Goats and hogs are also abundant: the former are kept chiefly for their milk. Pork is of a very superior flavour, and is sold at 7½*d.* per lb. Rabbits thrive in hutches, but are seldom raised in sufficient numbers for the market. The price of a full-grown turkey is from 12*s.* to 16*s.*; a goose from 10*s.* to 12*s.*; a Muscovy duck, 5*s.*; a common fowl, 2*s.* 6*d.*; a Guinea fowl, 4*s.*; pigeons, 2*s.* per pair: eggs, 1*s.* 6*d.* per dozen.* Of dogs, the real Spanish blood-hound, and those of the various European and Spanish breeds, are a usual appendage to almost every domestic establishment, both of the higher and lower classes. Numerous as these animals are, however, throughout the island, cases of hydrophobia seldom or ever occur. Cats are also common, but are not in such universal favour as the dog.

By the last authenticated returns, the number of stock, consisting of horses and cattle, was 166,286, with 2,235,733 acres of land in cultivation.

The whole island, comprising 6400 square miles, presents an entire surface of 4,080,000 acres; thus leaving nearly 2,000,000 of acres uncultivated. A considerable portion of the latter is situated in the inaccessible regions of the mountains. There are, however, thousands of acres in every respect available for cultivation, and which are being rapidly cleared for this purpose by the peasantry.

* The prices were formerly much higher.

The principal properties on the island of an agricultural kind are sugar and coffee plantations, together with pens or farms for raising stock. A sugar-estate is usually situated in a rich plain or valley, at a convenient distance from the sea; the coffee-plantation in the mountains of the interior; and the pen in a location on the highlands or on the plains, most convenient for pasturage.

A first-class sugar-estate usually consists of a large mansion occupied by the proprietor or attorney, and one or two somewhat inferior residences for the overseer and subordinate agents. Contiguous to these are the WORKS—consisting of the windmill, the boiling-house, the curing-house, and the distillery. Various out-offices, mechanics' shops, the hospital, and the negro-village at a little distance, complete the establishment.

Sugar-estates vary in their extent and value according to circumstances, as with farms in England.

An estate (says Stewart, in 1823) producing 200 hogsheads of sugar, averaging 16 cwt., may be thus valued:—

500 acres of land, at 20*l.* per acre on an average .	£10,000
(Of which 150 acres, if the land be good, is sufficient for canes, the rest being in grass and provisions)	
200 slaves, averaging 100*l.* each	20,000
140 horned stock and 50 mules	5,000
Buildings and utensils	8,000
Or £26,000 sterling.	£43,000

Such an estate would now be sold probably for the same amount, independently of the labourers. In some cases as many as 500 hands were considered ne-

cessary to cultivate 500 acres of land. It might be accomplished by half the number.

The cane-fields and pastures on all well-managed properties are enclosed by stone walls, or by fences composed separately of logwood, lime, lemon, or the maranga-tree, or by these shrubs and trees intermixed. The extent of a cane-field or pasture is from ten to twenty acres. The fences are usually trimmed to the height of about four feet, and are as impervious as the hawthorn in England, to which, indeed, the logwood bears a great resemblance. In the orange and lime fences a tree is sometimes allowed at regular intervals to attain its natural growth, which thus answers the double purpose of use and ornament. In some locali-

[Cutting Sugar-Cane.]

ties the penguin, a kind of wild pine-apple, and various species of the cactus, together with bamboo and other rails, are used for these intersections.

The incipient agricultural operations of an estate consist in clearing the land, opening it up in trenches, and holing it for the reception of the young plants—all which is usually performed by manual labour.

The time for planting and reaping varies with the seasons and with the climate in different localities. The spring plants, however, are usually put in in February, and arrive at perfection in the following December or January. After being cut down, the canes, which are tied in bundles, are conveyed to the mill in carts drawn by oxen, or, from fields inaccessible to such conveyances, on the backs of donkeys and mules. The juice of the cane is expressed by two perpendicular rollers or iron cylinders propelled by steam or cattle, and flows into the boiling-house, where it is manufactured into sugar. The scum and dross occurring in this process (which, contrary to the received opinion in this country, is a remarkably clean one), together with the molasses, are passed into the distilling-house, and converted into rum ; 300 gallons of which are produced from every acre of land yielding 3 hhds. of sugar. These processes being ended, attention is immediately turned to the necessary preparations for the ensuing crop, and the general operations of the estate.

Almost the only implements of husbandry in common use are the hoe, the bill, the cutlass, and the axe. The hoe is chiefly used for digging cane-holes, trench-

[Hoe and Bill for Sugar Cultivation.]

ing, ditching, and weeding; * the bill and the cutlass for cutting canes, denuding pastures of underwood and superfluous herbage, and also, in conjunction with the axe, in clearing forest lands for cultivation. Manure is conveyed to the field on the heads of labourers in baskets or trays filled by the hoe; exhibiting, in these respects, no improvement on the rude usages of our Saxon forefathers. As yet chemistry has been but imperfectly applied to the purpose of ascertaining the peculiar properties of soils. Nor is the science of agriculture either generally understood or applied to any

* The hoe was first introduced in the cultivation of the West Indian islands to clear the land from roots, as the plough and the spade could not then be used.

practical use. Little is done in the way of drainage, alternate crops, artificial grasses, or manuring.

Soils are usually wrought until exhausted; after which they lie fallow for several years: thus rendering it necessary successively to redeem tracts from the forest to supply the deficiency created, and which can only be effected at a great expense of time and labour.

The soil best adapted for the growth of coffee is a deep brown loam. Intervals of about six feet are left between the plants, which are frequently and carefully cleaned. The berries ripen and are gathered between the months of October and January.

After having undergone the process of pulping, it is dried on terraces called barbecues, and is then fit for local use or exportation.

The pimento or allspice plantations, which are usually connected with those of coffee, sometimes yield two crops a-year. The principal season for gathering it is from August to October. "It is broken in" in its green or unripe state, and dried like the coffee.

Particulars respecting the mode of cultivating and preparing ginger, arrow-root, and other articles of export, cannot be detailed.

Pens resemble the breeding and grazing farms of Great Britain.

In all these processes the same disregard to improvement is manifest. It is calculated that in planting canes a pair of horses and a plough will do the work of thirty-five men. "The farmer may form some idea of the waste of labour in the West Indies," says

an intelligent American traveller,* "by supposing his lands to be all cultivated with Indian corn, and no agricultural implements allowed him except a mule, a pack-saddle, a wooden tray, and a stub hoe."

By a thorough reformation of the present vicious and defective system of domestic economy—by an improved system of manuring and cultivation—returns of produce might be successively drawn from a more compact surface of soil in the immediate vicinity of the plantation works.

A steam-engine saves the labour of four able hands per diem during five months of the year, besides ensuring a better quality of sugar: and the substitution of animal labour and machinery, as far as practicable, would reduce the number of effective hands on an estate to nearly half the number required under the present system. It is gratifying, however, to add, that within the last few years some important improvements have been introduced, which are chiefly to be attributed to the Agricultural Societies, originated by C. N. Palmer, Esq., in the year 1834, first patronized by his Excellency the Marquis of Sligo, and now become general.

The plough, the steam-engine, the coffee-pulper, a machine for clearing and weeding canes, with other instruments of a similar kind, are now being gradually introduced. The breed of plantation-stock is considerably improved;—companies have been formed for supplying the towns of Spanish Town and Kingston

* Dr. Hovey.

with water,—for working a copper mine, and for the production of silk; and a taste has been imparted for progressive scientific improvement, which, it is hoped, will establish the prosperity of the colony on a broad and substantial foundation.

Much, however, as has been already accomplished, very much more still remains to be done. *The resources of the country are not at present more than half developed.* Its variety of soil and climate is adapted to the cultivation of almost every article that is grown within the tropics and the milder regions of the temperate zone; whilst its resources of raw material for manufactures of almost all kinds, and which are almost innumerable, may be said to be entirely unemployed, except for local purposes by the peasantry. The old methods of cultivation are the rule—the improvements the exception. The hoe, the cutlass, and the tray,* and others of equal antiquity, still usurp the place of the plough and spade, the muck-fork, the wheelbarrow, and the tumbril: whilst the practical knowledge of the last century is still regarded by many as superior to the experience and science of the present day.

The price of agricultural labour, compared with that of former years, is considerably diminished. The

* "A gentleman purchased a lot of wheelbarrows, with the intention of having the negroes use them instead of trays, in carrying out manure; but they not taking a fancy to the rolling part, loaded them, and mounted the whole on their heads. It is, however, scarcely necessary to remark how rapidly this prejudice will vanish with the progress of intelligence and enterprize."

amount paid for hoeing an acre of land for canes by a jobbing gang in 1823, was from 5*l.* to 7*l.*: the price now paid is 3*l.* 10*s.* The rate of wages for jobbers per day was from 2*s.* to 3*s.*: it is now from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* Stone walls for enclosures, which formerly cost 5*l.* per chain, are now built for 1*l.* 2*s.* per chain. And this scale of reduction is applicable to manual labour of almost every kind. Under all these circumstances, it is presumed that the necessity for an increase of our rural population by immigration is questionable, as the diminution of manual labour which these proposed changes would effect would more than compensate for any supposed deficiency of effective hands. All disinterested and philanthropic men, both in Jamaica and elsewhere, concur in the opinion that the present immigration scheme is not only unnecessary, but injurious, impolitic, inefficient, and useless: injurious, from its likelihood to interrupt the progress of civilization; impolitic, as furnishing a pretext for the continuance or renewal of the Slave Trade; and altogether inefficient in securing the reduction of wages or the supplies desired: thus occasioning a useless expenditure of the public money, and a defection among the native peasantry, which may involve consequences of a most serious character. With the various agricultural and other improvements suggested, greater facilities of conveyance, a less lavish expenditure of the public money, diminished taxation, an improved system of domestic economy, connected with a leasing out of estates to the present manager as a remedy for absenteeism, the prosperity of Jamaica may be

more substantially and permanently secured than by any other schemes that may be devised.

The following is a calculation lately made by his Excellency the Earl of Elgin, while at Shortwood, the estate of Joseph Gordon, Esq. :—

	£.	s.	d.
Cane-hole moulding according to old system . .	4	0	0
Planting	0	12	0
First cleaning	0	12	0
Second do.	0	12	0
Third do.	0	8	0
Fourth do.	0	8	0
	6	12	0

NEW SYSTEM.*

	s.	d.			
Ploughing one acre—wages of ploughmen and boys	5	6			
Planting	12	0			
First harrowing one acre, half day—wages for one man driving two steers in tandem, or one horse	2	0			
First moulding do., half day, with a double mould plough, 2s. for the ploughman, and 9d. for the boy	2	9			
Second moulding and third do., 2s. each . .	4	0			
Seven days' feeding, horses or cattle, at 2s. 6d. per day	17	6	—2	3	9
Gain			4	8	3
Allowing that, according to the old system, the rattoons took three cleanings, including moulding and trashing, at 12s. per acre			1	16	0
ON THE NEW SYSTEM.					
Three do. at 3s., exclusive of stock and implements .			0	9	0
Effecting a saving of . .			1	7	0

* *On the Cost of Slave and Free Labour.*—A report has been made 'From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Commercial State of the West Indian Colonies, July, 1842.' Without making any remark respecting the report generally, we now confine ourselves entirely to that part which relates to the cost of production of sugar, as given by the Committee—

The observations here made with respect to the defective state of common husbandry will apply in an equal, or even in a greater degree, to horticulture. Horticulture, indeed, has been wholly disregarded, except by a few individuals, who have formed themselves into a society in Kingston; and missionaries, who have endeavoured to give an impulse to these pursuits among the peasantry of the new townships. Hence, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the

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"The average cost of production of a hundred weight in the British West Indies, is (without any charge of interest or capital) 15 8
The expense of bringing it to market in Great Britain is 8 6

Making altogether 24 2
The average price of 1831 is 23 8

Leaving a deficiency of 0 6

By this statement it appears that slave labour was cheaper by 6*d.* per hundred weight than free labour. If in this early stage of the working of emancipation the cost of production has been such a trifle more than during the days of slavery, what may not be expected, by the introduction of a better system of management, by the aid of machinery and other improvements by which it may be considerably reduced?

But, if we understand the statement aright, free labour is already cheaper than slave labour. In the cost of production, no *charge of interest or capital is made.* Now it is a well-known fact, that a much larger amount of capital was required in the days of slavery than under the present system. There was the purchase-money for the slaves. Say that an estate had 200 slaves located upon it, the capital withdrawn amounts to 5000*l.* reckoning only at 25*l.* per head, being a saving of 250*l.* per annum, at 5 per cent. interest; say that 180 hogsheads of sugar are produced of a ton weight each, this 250*l.* saved will reduce the cost rather more than 1*s.* 4*d.* per hundred weight; instead, therefore, of there being an advantage of 6*d.* per cent. under slavery, there is actually a saving of 10*d.* per cent. by free labour in the British West India colonies." *Jamaica Baptist Herald.*

towns on the south side of the island, very few European vegetables are produced, although in all the highlands of the country they would flourish in the greatest abundance, and attain the highest perfection.

Adorned, as is this lovely island, with every thing calculated to woo the embellishments of art, there is perhaps no spot on the surface of the globe, inhabited by civilized men, where the beauties of nature have been lavished so entirely in vain. Millions of flowers and shrubs, displaying hues and tints which mock all the efforts of the pencil, still remain detached and scattered, forgotten and unknown. No extensive public gardens or pleasure-grounds are here found inviting healthful recreation, and displaying their sylvan beauties to the eye; no walks, shaded and adorned by aromatic trees and shrubs, to tempt the sedentary citizen and his captive family beyond the precincts of their domicile: yet in such a climate few things seem more necessary or desirable; while from the profusion of vegetable life which everywhere abounds, it would be comparatively easy of accomplishment. Such an appendage to Kingston and Spanish Town, especially, is a *desideratum*—and its cost, compared with the immense sums lavished on less becoming and healthful recreations, would be inconsiderable.

A large botanic garden was established several years ago in the village of Bath. It was successively enriched with productions from the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans—from Mauritius and the continent of India—presented by Lord Rodney, Captain Bligh, and others, and which promised very con-

siderable advantages to the colony; but, in accordance with that want of taste and public spirit, or as the effect of that apathy or avarice, which then characterized the leading men of the colony, it was finally abandoned, the Legislature discontinuing the means for its progressive cultivation.

As previously stated, no class of emigrants is so well suited to Jamaica as farmers with small capital. Such might most advantageously settle in the mountain districts. This would necessarily lead to improvements in practical agriculture, and thus not only facilitate the development of the resources of the country, but add much to its social happiness and prosperity.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT.

Council, House of Assembly, Courts of Law, Laws, Public Offices—Ecclesiastical Establishments—Naval and Military ditto—Taxes, Revenue.

THE Government of Jamaica is formed after the model of that of the Parent State, with such variations as the nature of the country is THOUGHT to require. It consists of a Governor, Council, and Assembly, or House of Representatives. The Governor is appointed by the Crown,—has the title of Excellency,—is Commander-in-Chief of the Forces,—Vice-admiral, &c.;—is invested with the chief civil authority, and, under particular circumstances, can appoint *pro tem.* a successor. The Council, which is similar to the House of Lords or the Privy Council in England, is also appointed by the Sovereign at the recommendation of the Governor, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Assembly, which resembles the House of Commons, is chosen by a small portion of the people, and enjoys all the privileges of the House of Commons in England.

The Governor, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Bishop, the Commander of the Forces, and the Chancellor, are all members of the Council *ex officio*, and the others are selected from the most

respectable and opulent of the inhabitants. They are twelve in number, and are addressed by the title of Honourable. The Assembly consists of 47 members, being two representatives to each parish, and an additional one to the towns of Spanish Town, Kingston, and Port Royal. Its duration is seven years. The qualification of a representative is the possession of a freehold of 300*l.* per annum in any part of the island, or a real and personal estate of 3000*l.* An elector must possess a freehold estate in the parish in which he votes of the value of 6*l.* sterling, or at a rent-charge of 30*l.* sterling, recorded in the island secretary's office for twelve calendar months, and the right of voting thereon entered in the parish books, in the office of the clerk of the vestry, or clerk of the common council, six calendar months. He must be twenty-one years of age; and actually pay taxes to the amount of 3*l.* sterling per annum. His specific place of abode must be also registered. He must make oath as to his actual possession of the property;—present a rent-receipt from his landlord, and pay his taxes up to the term of his claiming to vote, and in continuity afterwards, as a condition of his continued privilege.

The Supreme Court, in the extent of its jurisdiction, resembles those of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in the Mother Country. Its sittings are held in St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, the capital, three times a year, commencing in the months of February, June and October, and continued through three successive weeks. The Chief Justice is nominated by the Government of England.

He was formerly assisted by eight or ten colleagues, appointed by the King in council, at the recommendation of the Governor, each of whom received a salary of 300*l.* sterling per annum, and who sat on the bench in rotation. By a recent law this arrangement is superseded, and his Honour the Chief Justice, Sir Joshua Rowe, is now associated with two duly qualified assistants, the Honbles. W. C. M'Dougal and W. Stevenson. They hold their offices at the pleasure of the Queen in council, and have each a patent of office under the great seal of the island, as is the case with the Judges and principal officers of all the other courts, who are removeable only by the sanction of the Queen in council. Their salaries are paid by the island, and are as follow :—The Chief Justice, 4000*l.* per annum, and each of his associates about 2000*l.* The whole annual cost for the Judicial Establishment is 23,476*l.* The sum of 7000*l.* was given as retirement douceurs to the former legal authorities. The other officers attached to the court are Dowell O'Reilly, Esq., the Attorney-General, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the Court, Solicitor for the Crown, Island Secretary, Provost Marshal or High Sheriff of the Island, with about twelve or fourteen barristers.

The Assize Courts have jurisdiction only in each county respectively, and have the same power and authority that the Justices of Assize and Nisi Prius, Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and Justices of Gaol Delivery, have in England.

The Courts of Quarter Sessions are conducted similarly to those of this country, and are presided

over by chairmen, lately appointed by the Home Government, assisted by local and stipendiary magistrates. Formerly local magistrates presided over these courts, who often decided cases in which they were personally concerned.

The Courts of Common Pleas are held once in three months or oftener, and have jurisdiction over all causes wherein any freehold is not concerned, to the value of 20*l.* with costs, and no more, but by the aid of a *justicias* from the Chancellor. The appeal against the decision of these courts lies to the Supreme Court of Judicature. They were formerly presided over by local magistrates, subsequently by stipendiary and local magistrates associated, but now by a chairman of Quarter Sessions, assisted by stipendiary and local magistrates.* The Quarter Session takes cognizance of all manner of debts, trespasses, &c., not exceeding the value of 40*s.*

Until recently the Court of Chancery was presided over by the Governor, who possessed the same powers as those with which the Lord High Chancellor of England is invested. The functions of Chancellor are dissociated from those of Governor, and a duly qualified individual sustains the office.

Court of Error.—This is a court in which appeals are heard by the Governor in council from the Su-

* The stipendiary magistrates are appointed and paid by the Home Government, and are removeable only through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Richard Hill, Esq., a gentleman of colour, is the Secretary of the Special Justices' Department, and is an honour to the Government of the country.

preme and Assize Courts in the form of writs of error, and which are allowed and regulated by Her Majesty's instructions to the Governor. The Court of Vice-Admiralty decides all maritime causes, and adjudges prizes to claimants. It is a miniature representation of the Vice-Admiralty Court in England.

The Court of Ordinary is for determining all ecclesiastical matters. It is presided over by the Governor, as the representative of the Sovereign and the nominal head of the Church, who in that capacity inducts into the vacant rectories. The Bishop of London was formerly the diocesan of Jamaica and of all the West Indian colonies; but a bishop was appointed specially for the island, including the Bahamas and Honduras, in 1825, with a salary of 4000*l.* per annum, and an archdeacon with a salary of 2000*l.* from the home government. The crown livings were in the gift of the Governor, in virtue of his station as such, but are now in that of the bishop. The clergy are paid partly by a stipend and partly by fees.

Of late years the average annual expenditure of Jamaica for her ecclesiastical establishment has been upwards of 30,000*l.*, and which is paid out of the public taxes. The rectors' stipends were estimated by Mr. Bridges, in the year 1835, at 8820*l.*; the curates' salaries at 10,550*l.*; the aggregate vestry allowances, 3430*l.*; and the average sum drawn from the inhabitants for surplice fees, at 5372*l.*, independently of the annual expenditure in maintaining thirty-nine churches and chapels. By recent acts of the legislature the fees have been abolished and an annual sum granted instead,

which has greatly increased the salaries of the rectors, so that, including grants of money for chapel and school-house building, the expenditure for ecclesiastical purposes has been increased from 30,000*l.* to nearly 80,000*l.* per annum, thus imposing a most unjust and oppressive burden upon the dissenters, who constitute more than half the population of the island.

These statements are supported by the following facts:—The Clergy Act, passed December 1840, expressly enacts that no charge be made by clergymen of the Church of England for marriages, christenings, and burials, but that they receive in lieu thereof, out of the public treasury, the following sums per annum, viz.:—

The Rector of Kingston . . .	£600
" " of St. Catherine . . .	400
" " of St. James . . .	400
" " of St. Andrew . . .	300
With 17 others at 200*l.* each . . .	3400
Total . . .	£5100

Thus the salaries of rectors are supposed to vary from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* per annum each. In the year 1842 there was expended in one parish (Trelawney) for church purposes, including schoolmasters and subordinate church officers, 7000*l.* sterling, or 35,000 dollars: about 4*s.* 2*d.*, or one dollar per annum for every man, woman, and child within its boundaries. The sum of six hundred pounds was also voted to paupers belonging to the same establishment.

The total paid for the church by the island in the year 1841 amounted to 65,919*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, in addition to the 11,000*l.* by the British Government and societies

for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, or, as estimated by the Commissioners of Public Accounts, 77,519*l.*

"There are no tithes in Jamaica," says Mr. Candler,* writing in 1840; "a land-tax was imposed in lieu of tithes, and the Church of England clergy are paid their stipends out of the island chest. The average receipts of the rectors are, I understand, about 1000*l.* sterling per annum, and of the curates about 400*l.* These stipends, with the salary of the bishop and archdeacon, and other ecclesiastical demands for new churches and chapels, school-rooms, and national schools, swallow up about 50,000*l.* per annum, or one-eighth of the whole revenue of Jamaica; and from the disposition recently manifested by the House of Assembly to gratify the bishop and church, this sum seems likely, if not checked by the people, to go on increasing."

There is no Bankruptcy Law in Jamaica, but an Insolvent Debtors' Act instead, which is considered very arbitrary in its requirements.

As a security against fraud, the law, until a very recent period, when it was abrogated, required that every person intending to leave the island should publish his name for three weeks in the newspapers, and obtain a certificate from the Governor, without which any captain of a vessel with whom he might sail would be liable to a very heavy penalty.

* Mr. John Candler, of the Society of Friends, performed a tour of Jamaica and Hayti in the year 1840, and published some valuable information on the state and prospects of these islands.

Though the constitution of the island is similar to that of England, and the legislature enacts its own laws, these laws are subject to the confirmation or disallowance of her Majesty in council; and while some go into immediate operation on the assent of the Governor on behalf of the Queen, others of a more particular and important kind are passed with a suspending clause, and are not carried into effect until her Majesty's pleasure is known. At the same time the Sovereign has the prerogative of disallowing any colonial Act which she has not previously confirmed at any period, however remote. As with all the British colonies, the island is dependent on the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, who have full power to control it in all cases whatsoever. Although the common law of England is here in force, it is not so generally with the statute laws. Nor can the latter become laws of Jamaica, unless recognized by the local legislature. It is well known that the consolidated Slave Act existed as a distinct code, and had reference to slavery and its relations alone. Colonial enactments now relate to those regulations of local policy which are thought necessary to the altered state of things, and to which it is supposed that the statute laws of England are inapplicable. It must be obvious that the entire system of British law is as applicable to the government of the colonies as to that of the parent state; and its adoption in Jamaica would be an important boon to the country. It is well known that those laws which have been enacted since Emancipation have not secured to the peasantry those privileges and immunities which they were intended to con-

fer; many of them, therefore, have been disallowed. Amongst these there are some that are not only oppressive and unjust, but utterly at variance with every dictate of sound policy, such as the Militia Law, the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act, the Election Law, and the Stamp Act.

A body of militia is unnecessary, and serves no other purpose than that of impoverishing and demoralizing the peasantry. The tendency of the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act is to create a monopoly of trade; to form an almost insurmountable barrier to honourable competition; and to impose the most oppressive restrictions upon the industry of the poorer classes. A hawker and pedlar in England for the sum of 4*l.* may purchase a license, which enables him to travel throughout England and Wales. In Jamaica he would have to purchase as many licenses as there are parishes, and which, including stamp-duties and clerks' fees, would probably amount to upwards of 100*l.* This Act is also as useless in the accomplishment of its avowed object as it is unjust and impolitic in its character, inasmuch as it fails to benefit the monopolist, is unproductive to the revenue, and ineffectual in preventing the sale of stolen goods.

The election law is equally liable to objection: by that mysterious combination of ever-changing difficulties which attends its operation, nearly 300,000 out of the 400,000 inhabitants which the island contains, may said to be entirely unrepresented, and, consequently, be excluded from all the common paths of honourable ambition.

The Stamp Act was evidently designed to prevent

the possession of freeholds by the peasantry, and thus to diminish the amount of that influence which they would ultimately exert upon the legislature and other interests of the country. So unjust and oppressive are its enactments that every effort ought to be made by the friends of civil liberty to effect its disallowance.*

Great and salutary as is the change which has been effected in the judicial system, it cannot be dissembled that great defects still exist; indeed, so palpable have these evils at length become, that considerable dissatisfaction has been for some time manifested on the subject, not only by the public but by the legal profession. They have been denounced in the public journals, and loud demands have been made for their reform. The remedies suggested are rules for the government of the inferior courts, and the establishment of island law reports, the latter to be published annually, for the use of the profession, and the benefit of the public. The reports to extend to all causes in Chancery, trials at Nisi Prius, and arguments in Banco, to be revised by the Judge who heard or tried the cause in Chancery or at Nisi Prius, and to be then published at the expense of the island, and received as good authority in all its courts.†

In the inferior courts great advantages have been derived from the appointment of chairmen of Quarter Sessions, some of whom, the Honourables T. J. Ber-

* By this Act the legal expense of executing and recording a title for an acre of land will, in some cases, double or treble its intrinsic value. It is also supposed to possess a retrospective aspect, rendering all preceding conveyances invalid unless executed by a solicitor at the legal rate of charge, subjecting the present freeholders to the expense of new deeds of conveyance.

† Jamaica Morning Journal.

nard, Mayo Short, and Henry Roberts, Esq., are especially efficient. A thorough reform of the magistracy is, however, imperatively required. So powerfully does prejudice still continue to operate against the poorer classes, so little effect has a change of circumstances effected in the dispositions of the local authorities, and so far is justice removed beyond the reach of the pecuniary means of the great mass of the people, that, with a very few exceptions, it may be said to be entirely denied them.

Each parish has a Custos Rotulorum, answering to the office of Lord Lieutenant of a county in England. He is designated Honourable, and has the custody of the parochial records. The affairs of each parish are managed by a vestry, over which the Custos presides. The vestry consists of the rector, churchwarden, and ten vestrymen. It has the prerogatives of assessing and appropriating local taxes; appointing waywardens for superintending the repair of public roads; and also of choosing the different parochial officers. Each parish has also its coroner and clerk of the peace, the duties and powers of which correspond with those of similar offices in England.

The business connected with forts and fortifications, of public works, and of public accounts, is managed by commissioners of which the council and assembly are members *ex officio*.

Port Royal Harbour is the rendezvous of the navy. In time of peace it consists of only one or two frigates and several smaller vessels, which are cruizing on the station. Here also are the store-houses, the dock-yard, and the necessary conveniences for careening ships.

The military force, including 200 artillery-men, is about 3000, comprising four European regiments of the line, and one of Africans from the west coast of Africa. The colonial militia lately numbered from 16,000 to 18,000 men at arms, comprising 20 troops of horse and 23 of infantry, with two field-pieces and a company of artillery to each regiment. The head-quarters for the regiments of the line are Spanish Town, Kingston, and Maroon Town, in Trelawny. The principal fortifications are, Fort Charles on the east end of Port Royal, and the battery of the Twelve Apostles; and Fort Augusta, at the entrance of Port Royal and Kingston Harbours.

The annual revenue of Jamaica, including the local taxes of the different counties, and parish vestries, is estimated at 600,000*l*. It sustains its own government, and its ecclesiastical, naval and military establishments (the salaries of the bishop and archdeacon excepted), besides yielding an annual revenue to the Crown of 10,000*l*.

The taxes are numerous, and oppressive to the public generally, but especially to the small freeholders: the principal of them are the land-tax, the stamp-tax, a tax of 20*s*. on wheel-carriages not used in agriculture or for the conveyance of goods, a house-tax of 12 per cent. on the amount of rent, a tax on horses, mules, and horned stock; and a road-tax, recently enacted, which levies one dollar, or 4*s*. 1*d*., per annum on each male person from sixteen years of age to sixty. As they have been raised with little regard to justice and the pecuniary ability of the public, so have they

been squandered with the most reckless extravagance. Thus, in addition to the 80,000*l.* absorbed by the national church, the cost of the police establishment amounts to 56,400*l.* per annum, and that of the immigration scheme, to not less than 30,000*l.* per annum.

From the report of the committee, showing the ways and means, the income of the island for 1842 was estimated at 427,000*l.*, and the expenditure 363,000*l.*, leaving an apparent overplus of 60,000*l.*, thus, as was said officially by one of the members of the legislature, obviating the necessity that was supposed to exist for an income-tax.

The following extract from a letter lately received from a missionary in Jamaica, dated May 23, 1843, abundantly confirms the statements contained in this chapter :—

"Our taxes are abominably high. The capitation tax of 4*s.* per head is felt as a burden, under which the people complain. A poor black man is charged his full amount of tax, sometimes more ; is often refused the discount, though he pays within the specified time; is charged 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* for filling up the vestry form, and some of the magistrates demand 1*s.* 7*d.* for administering the required oath or receiving the necessary declaration ; and now, by a most wily and unjust law, a man whose freehold is not worth 10*l.* per year is exempted from militia duty, and exempted also from a vote ; so that every voter is liable to serve in the militia, and then the smallest privilege is not to be enjoyed by our peasantry unless they purchase it at about 100 per cent. above its real value."

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCE.

SHIPPING; Imports and Exports—Monetary System: Coins, Amount of Property, aggregate Value of Property.

From the transition which society has lately undergone, it was natural to expect that in the cultivation of the staple product of the country some temporary disadvantages would be experienced. It is, however, gratifying to find, as was confidently predicted by the friends of freedom, that they have been *but* temporary, as it is stated, on the authority of the authenticated table of exports for the year 1842, (see next page) that the exports exceed those of 1841 by 13,221 hogsheads of sugar, 3850 puncheons of rum, and 1233 tierces of coffee.

This statement is thus noticed and confirmed by the Editor of the Morning Journal in Dec. 1842:

"We have been favoured with a view of the statements of exports from this island during the present year, and have been delighted at perceiving the increase which has taken place over those of 1841. The statement is incomplete, not including the exports from Port Maria, Lucea, and Savanna-la-mar. Notwithstanding these omissions, it appears that 13,221 hogsheads of sugar, 3850 puncheons of rum, 1233 tierces of coffee, have been shipped in 1842 over and above the shipments of the previous year. Our British as well as Jamaica readers will be gratified at the increased production of our staples, which this statement shows, and

PORT OF KINGSTON—JAMAICA.

A RETURN, shewing the value of British Manufactured Goods exported from the several Ports in the Island of Jamaica during the years ended 10th October, 1840, the 10th October, 1841, and 10th October, 1842, distinguishing each Port and Country to which exported.

	Great Britain.	British West Indies.	British North American Colonies.	Elsewhere.	United States of America.	Foreign States.	Total.
Year ended 10th October, 1840.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Kingston and Old Harbour	7,417 15 9	1,248 19 0	509 18 9	1,352 10 0	2,303 5 11	375,487 10 3	388,319 19 8
Morant Bay and Port Morant	305 0 0	..	..	..	..	138 13 4	443 13 4
Port Antonio	120 0 0	..	13 15 4	..	..	..	133 15 4
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	309 10 0	..	..	..	53 0 0	67 10 0	430 0 0
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	7 0 0	..	..	..	952 0 0	150 0 0	1,109 0 0
Montego Bay and Lucea	..	10 0 0	72 0 0	..	527 0 0	1,572 10 0	2,181 10 0
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	..	..	10 10 0	..	65 12 9	..	76 2 9
Total	8,159 5 9	1,258 19 0	606 4 1	1,352 10 0	3,900 18 8	377,416 3 7	392,694 1 1
Year ended 10th October, 1841.							
Kingston and Old Harbour	6,680 11 3	523 16 0	904 0 6	954 5 0	3,093 3 11	202,842 7 5	214,998 4 1
Morant Bay and Port Morant	266 0 0	..	..	..	..	967 5 10	1,233 5 10
Port Antonio	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	143 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	143 0 0
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	83 0 0	1 0 0	..	..	..	65 10 0	149 10 0
Montego Bay and Lucea	..	..	49 0 0	..	433 15 0	2,706 17 0	3,189 12 0
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	165 0 0	..	..	..	152 0 0	..	317 0 0
Total	7,337 11 3	524 16 0	953 0 6	954 5 0	3,678 18 11	209,582 0 3	220,030 11 11
Year ended 10th October, 1842.							
Kingston and Old Harbour	5,351 5 0	1,352 0 9	21 0 0	195 0 0	1,848 1 3	286,164 1 5	294,931 8 5
Morant Bay and Port Morant	47 0 0	..	..	..	12 0 0	..	59 0 0
Port Antonio	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	160 0 0	..	..	..	..	..	160 0 0
Montego Bay and Lucea	..	..	28 0 0	..	556 4 6	210 10 0	794 14 6
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	86 0 0	..	..	..	755 6 8	876 18 0	1,718 14 8
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	..	..	6 12 6	..	28 13 4	..	35 5 10
Total	5,644 5 0	1,352 0 9	55 12 6	195 0 0	3,200 5 9	287,251 9 5	297,698 13 5

A RETURN showing the Staple Exports of this island, between the 10th of October, 1841, and the 10th of October, 1842.

PORTS.	Sugar.			Rum.			Casks Molasses.	Ginger.		Pimento.		Coffee.
	Hhds.	Trs.	Bls.	Punchs.	Hhds.	Casks.		Casks.	Bls.	Casks.	Bags.	lbs.
Kingston and Old Harbour	12,148	1,157	1,612	4,417	153	21	4	71	..	87	3,753	4,209,493
Morant Bay and Port Morant	4,116	672	221	1,320	24	2	..	25	..	..	104	8,186
Port Antonio	1,279	159	43	370	..	..	..	..	..	17	29	15,464
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	5,190	828	179	1,863	1	5	..	..	..	..	1,665	13,192
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	11,211	1,837	511	4,061	170	27	6	455	..	14	19,020	622,539
Montego Bay and Lucea	9,902	1,406	527	3,374	244	111	..	155	2,145	11	3,628	12,481
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	3,996	813	31	1,613	4	50	..	1,242	..	161	5,464	2,253,620
Total	47,892	6,872	1,334	17,018	596	216	10	1,948	2,145	290	33,663	7,135,975

A RETURN showing the Value of British Manufactured Goods paying an *ad valorem* Duty on Importation into the several Ports in this Island, during the Years ended 10th October, 1840, 1841, and 1842.

PORTS.	Year ended 10th October, 1840.	Year ended 10th October, 1841.	Year ended 10th October, 1842.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Kingston and Old Harbour	1,083,003 14 5	566,473 6 0	623,537 3 2
Morant Bay and Port Morant	12,496 7 8	12,168 14 0	13,427 6 6
Port Antonio	4,410 16 5	3,281 12 1	3,293 5 8
Port Maria and Annotto Bay	27,203 10 11	15,496 4 9	16,872 3 0
Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and St. Anne's Bay	56,955 17 4	57,522 16 4	33,538 13 11
Montego Bay and Lucea	52,432 11 0	36,610 14 4	31,645 4 2
Savanna-la-Mar and Black River	20,377 9 6	16,103 3 1	27,801 7 9
Total	1,256,880 7 3	706,656 10 7	750,115 4 2

will join us in the anxious hope that they will continue to increase in the like ratio every year, until our island has reached that pitch beyond which increased production becomes an evil."

	Hhds. Sugar.	Pns. Rum.	Trcs. Coffee.
1841 . .	22,691	8,298	7,570
1842 . .	36,012	12,148	8,803
Excess . .	13,321	3,850	1,233

The following is an extract from the Morning Journal of Feb. 13, 1843:—

"Having laid before our readers a statement of the quantity of produce imported into London during the years 1841 and 1842, with the stock on hand at Christmas of each year, and shown the considerable increase which had taken place in the imports of the latter period, we come now to exhibit the result upon a more extended scale. The return before us embraces the Ports of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, and these being the principal ones of the country, the result must be considered pretty correct.

"It appears, then, that the imports of the year 1842 of sugar from the West Indies exceeded those of the previous year by 16,076 hogsheads and tierces, and 5354 barrels; the imports of 1841 being 136,974 hogsheads and tierces, and 11,745 barrels, and those of 1842, 253,050 hogsheads and tierces, and 17,099 barrels.

"The next article on the list is rum. The imports of this article from the West Indies increased during the last year, as might very reasonably be expected, the sugar crops having been larger. Those in 1841 were 26,647 puncheons and hogsheads; and in 1842, 33,814 puncheons and hogsheads; total excess, 7167 puncheons and hogsheads.

"The imports of pimento in 1842 exceeded those of 1841, by 9333 casks and bags."

On this subject we shall give, in the words of Lord Stanley, the present secretary for the colonies, in his place in parliament, an account of the amount and value of exports from the British West Indies, during a few years before and since the abolition of slavery, which is as follows:—

"When he looked to the average quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from the West Indies, he found, that during the six years preceding the apprenticeship it was 3,905,034 cwts.; that during the four years of apprenticeship, it fell to 3,486,225 cwts.; that during the first year of freedom, 1839, it fell to 2,824,106 cwts.; and that during the second year of freedom, 1840, it fell to 2,210,226 cwts. If the house would permit him to state this case fully and fairly, they would find that the deficiency of the quantity had been made up by the increased value of the produce in the different intervals. For instance, the average value of sugar for the six years preceding the apprenticeship was 5,320,021*l.*; and for the four years of the apprenticeship, it was 6,217,801*l.* In the first year of freedom the amount was 5,530,000*l.*, and in the next year 5,424,000*l.*; and, although in this year there would be a large reduction, still there would be a fair remuneration for what was lost by the diminution of produce." We may add that, during the past year, the export of sugar from the British West India colonies was 2,151,217 cwts., making an average of 2,395,151 cwts. since the introduction of freedom, being nearly two-thirds of the amount exported during

the period of slavery. In the present year, the exports are expected to exceed those of the last, by from 200,000 to 300,000 cwts.

The coins until the passing of the act in 1839 for the assimilation of the currency to that of the United Kingdom, were Spanish and Portuguese. There were no banks. Money transactions with England were carried on by means of bills of exchange, usually bearing a rate of premium in proportion to their demand in the market, besides the nominal par of exchange. Sometimes the premiums have been as high as 23 per cent. The only paper currency consisted of island checks, issued by the Receiver General upon the security of the island and its revenue. The gold and silver coins were doubloons, pistoles, dollars, half-dollars, maccaronies, tenpences, and fivepences. There was no copper coin current, and the smallest of the silver coin was 5*d.* current or 3*d.* sterling.

There are now three banks in full operation, which have removed a great impediment to commercial intercourse, and greatly facilitated the operations of the planter by securing a constant supply of metallic currency, thereby acting beneficially, both on the colonies and the parent state.

The total amount of annually created property on the island, such as its agricultural, vegetable, and and animal productions, is estimated at upwards of eight millions, and the total of moveable and immoveable, such as land, public buildings, domestic property, and money in circulation, at upwards of forty-four millions.

CHAPTER IX.

WHITE INHABITANTS.

Their Origin, Settlement, Trades and Professions, Domestic Habits, Dress—Social Dispositions and Affections—Manners and Customs—Education, Morals, Religion—General Improvement.

THE first white settlers in Jamaica after its possession by the British were soldiers of the armament under Penn, Venables, and D'Oyly; immigrants from Ireland and Scotland; pirates and buccaneers, the latter of whom had long infested the neighbouring seas. To these may be added various individuals of respectability, judges and others, who had taken a conspicuous part in the trial of Charles I. Some wealthy planters arrived from Barbadoes; Scotch settlers from Darien; a number of Jewish families, and several naval and military officers. These were succeeded from year to year by artificers and indented servants, together with individuals of different trades and professions, more or less reputable as to character, from the three kingdoms. Some also were from Germany, Portugal, St. Domingo, and several of the French and Spanish settlements. In process of time this heterogeneous mass became amalgamated, and from various local circumstances, assumed something like a common character. They were distinguished in general as professional men,

[Planter, attended by Negro Driver.]

planters, merchants, store-keepers, and tradesmen, with others occupying inferior situations under them.

The descendants of these, the present natives of the country, are slender and graceful in form, their complexion pale, and with a more languid expression of countenance than the Europeans; their features are regular, their eyes expressive and sparkling, their hair a fine flaxen or auburn, their voices soft and pleasing, and their whole air and looks tender, gentle, and feminine.

In the furniture of their houses and domestic habits, the more respectable of the white inhabitants, native as well as European, differ but little from those of the same classes in the mother country. In consequence

of the heat of the climate both sexes generally dress in white. As throughout the year the duration of day and night is nearly the same, there is but little variation in the hours of rising, meals, and business. Every morning at sun-rise, about five o'clock, a gun is fired at Port Royal, and again at sunset, about seven o'clock. Five or six is the usual time of rising, breakfast about eight or nine, and a meal called the second breakfast between twelve and one. Among the more respectable classes, dinner is usually served at six or seven in the evening, but few of the inhabitants take either tea or supper.

Though the white inhabitants of Jamaica retained in a considerable degree the national customs, as well as many of the domestic and social habits of their European ancestors, yet, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, they rapidly degenerated in their mental attainments and general accomplishments.

The females, excluded from the advantages of a liberal education, became addicted to pleasures, such as horse-races, dances, and convivial entertainments, thus acquiring habits which could not fail to operate unfavourably on their domestic circumstances and general character.

Both sexes became alike the victims of pride, avarice, and prejudice, and, though kind and generous in their deportment towards friends and acquaintances, yet towards others, especially if their inferiors, they were reserved, proud, supercilious, overbearing, and cruel,

exhibiting, indeed, an anomaly of character perfectly inexplicable, but for the influence of slavery.

The aggregate character of the white inhabitants, when composed of such elements, in a country abounding in facilities for the gratification of the worst passions of our nature, and where, at the same time, they were under the influence of no salutary restraints, may be in some degree, at least, conceived. Lest, however, the testimony of the writer (though drawn from facts collected on the spot, or the result of his own personal observation) should be liable to suspicion, he will adduce representations from historical records; a portrait shall be given as delineated by men who were too closely connected with the state of things in the colony to be even suspected of exaggeration to the disadvantage of the parties concerned. The character of the white inhabitants was by these writers deplored, and mentioned only with a view either of exhibiting the progress of reform, or of operating as a stimulus to greater improvement; an object than which nothing can be more anxiously desired by the best friends of the country.

"Many of those," says Mr. Long, "who succeeded to the management of estates had much fewer good qualities than the slaves over whom they were set in authority, the better sort of whom heartily despised them, perceiving little or no difference from themselves, except in skin and blacker depravity."

The practice of profane *swearing* was awfully prevalent among them. Without it every sentence they

uttered appeared incomplete. Not even the most foolish and unimportant story was related without invoking the sacred name of God to attest its truth and facilitate its currency. "I have often thought," continues the same author, "that the lower orders of white servants on the plantations exhibit such pictures of DRUNKENNESS, that the better sort of creole blacks have either conceived a disgust at the practice that occasions such odious effects, or have refrained from it out of a kind of pride, as if they would appear superior to, and more respectable than, such wretches."

But such practices were not confined to the managers and others on estates. The vice of drunkenness pervaded all ranks, often aggravated in proportion to the possession of rank and wealth;—their carousals being usually accompanied by gambling and all the evils which follow in its train. "Many gentlemen of rank in the country impaired their fortunes and reduced their families to the brink of ruin by such excesses. It was not at all unusual to see one of them, after losing all his money, proceed to stake his carriage and horses, that were waiting to convey him home, and, after losing these, obliged to return on foot. Drunken quarrels happened among intimate friends, which generally ended in duelling,—a species of crime the most awfully prevalent, and resorted to on the most trifling occasions. There were very few who did not shorten their lives by intemperance and violence."

"The bulk of the uneducated," says Stewart, "are dissolute in their lives, and shameful in their excesses." Concubinage was almost universal, embracing nine-

tenths of the male inhabitants. Nearly every one down to the lowest white servant had his native female companion.* For the most part the only exceptions were to be found in the cases of a few professional men, merchants, store-keepers in the towns (principally Jews), and here and there in the country a proprietor or large attorney." "The name of a family man," says the favourite historian of the colonists,† "was formerly held in the greatest derision, whilst for a white man to form a matrimonial alliance with a woman of colour, although she might have lived with him for years and borne him several children, would be for ever to forfeit his rank in white society, and to transmit his name to posterity in imperishable infamy." The most shameless adultery was every where prevalent. This sin was so common that groups of white and mulatto children, legitimate and illegitimate, were frequently claimed by the same father, and all brought up together under the same roof. This gross and open violation of every social duty was tolerated without the least injury to character even in the estimation of females of respectability, or any diminution of public or private respect. Unblushing licentiousness, from the Governor downwards

* Mr. Baillie, a large West Indian proprietor, when examined before a Committee of the House of Lords in 1832, was asked the question—"Can you name any overseer, driver, or other person in authority, who does not keep a mistress?" He replied—"I cannot." For this profligacy of manners on estates the subordinate white servants were not wholly accountable. The formation of more reputable connections, by the wretched policy of proprietors and attorneys, would have subjected them to the loss of employment.

† Long.

throughout all the intermediate ranks of society, was notorious in the broad light of day.

It revelled in the multiplicity of its victims without resistance and without control.

Renny, who published a history of Jamaica about the year 1807, says, "surely there never was a greater inconsistency than a profession of *religion* here. In some of the parishes, which are larger than our shires, there is no church; in others there is no priest; and, when there is, the *white* inhabitants never think of attending. In a town which contains between 20 and 30,000 inhabitants there is but one church, whilst the attendance at first sight is really somewhat surprising. When you enter the church on Sunday you see the curate, the clerk, the sexton, one or two magistrates, and about a dozen of gentlemen, and nearly double that number of ladies. Nothing troubles the white inhabitants less than the concerns of religion. Christianity, indeed, is so contrary in its spirit, in its doctrines, and in its injunctions, to their conduct, their prejudices, and their interests, that it is not at all surprising that even the mutilated form of it which the English church presents to them should be very obnoxious, and, though not much spoken against, yet secretly despised and openly neglected." They paid no external respect to the Sabbath. "In the towns," continues the same author, and which is also attested by Stewart, "many of the stores are open on the Sunday, and business is transacted in them as usual, with this difference, that the clerks and negroes generally have that day to themselves, which the former

spend in amusement, and the latter in idleness and debauchery." In the country the Sabbath was the grand gala day. The overseers on the different estates in each neighbourhood "then meet together, dine alternately at each other's houses, and spend the evening of the day in conversation, smoking, drinking, playing at cards, or dancing, and sometimes, as it not unfrequently happens, in all these employments." That torrent of iniquity which on other days was directed into its separate and more confined channel, seemed on this sacred day to converge around the festive board. There seemed something in the very atmosphere of Jamaica unfavourable to religion in a white man, for scarcely did he touch her shores, than its most important truths were forgotten, and its most sacred obligations violated.

"As to the great part of the white colonists born and brought up in the West Indies," says Mr. Stephen, "I am at a loss for any criterion by which their religious classification can be fixed. Many of them, I believe, have rarely been in a place of worship in their lives. Some, it is supposed, have never been baptized."

Multitudes of them assumed the scoffers' chair, and publicly avowed themselves the champions of infidelity. The press was also enlisted in the same unhallowed cause, and poured out torrents of blasphemy from day to day; whilst the whole community, regarding religion as hostile to their interests as it was opposed to their propensities, opposition to its introduction by missionaries was to be expected. "The first time I preached in Kingston," says Dr. Coke, "a gentleman,

inflamed with liquor, began to be very turbulent; till at last, the noise increasing, they cried out, 'Down with him! down with him!' They then pressed forward through the crowd in order to seize me, crying out again, 'Who seconds that fellow?'—from whose violence I was principally protected by a lady. On my first arrival at Montego Bay, accompanied by a missionary," he continues, "we walked about the streets, looking and inquiring for a place to preach in, but every door seemed closed against us." On the following year he again writes:—"The disposition which had vociferated 'Down with him!' had not yet subsided. On the contrary, it had raged with greater violence, and persecution had put on a more terrific form."

About this time, a new chapel being completed, he says—"It was erected in the circle of danger, and arose amidst surrounding storms."

"Soon after," he proceeds, "the persecutions we have experienced in this place (Jamaica) far, very far, exceed all persecutions we have experienced in all the other islands unitedly considered."

Mr. Hammet's life was frequently endangered. Mr. B., who first opened his house, several times narrowly escaped being stoned to death. "Often our most active friends were obliged to guard our chapel, lest the outrageous mob should pull it down to the ground." At Spanish Town, it appears, he succeeded in procuring a room for preaching; but even here the same bitter spirit of opposition displayed itself. "When

I entered the room," he says, "I found it filled with the young bucks and bloods, as we used to term the debauchees at Oxford, who, during my sermon, behaved so rudely that I could scarcely proceed." At the Assembly Room at Montego Bay, which he obtained for the same purpose, he continues—"After I had enforced on the audience the great truths of Christianity, a company of men, with a printer at their head, kept up a loud clapping of hands for a considerable time. I then withdrew into Mr. Brown's dwelling-house; but my companion (Mr. Fish, a missionary) lost me, and, going out into the street, was instantly surrounded by the men, who shouted and swore they would first begin with the servant; on which an officer of the army drew his sword, and, stretching it forth, declared he would run it through the body of any one who dared to touch the young man." Things proceeded to still further extremities. At Kingston, and subsequently at Morant Bay, several ministers and members of their congregations were imprisoned. Among the rest was Mr. Gilgrass, a missionary; and that on no other charge than singing after six o'clock in the evening in his own house. It was under circumstances, too, so far as the authorities were concerned, of a still more intolerant and disgraceful character, as it appears (and this, it seems, was urged in his defence) that he was merely learning a tune which a brother missionary had just brought from England. "At present," says the same excellent missionary, "I cannot read in the family, or pray, without being

cursed worse than a pickpocket, and that by white men who are called gentlemen." Respecting Mr. Hammet, the first missionary who settled in Kingston, he adds—"Harassed with persecution and fatigue, Mr. H. was at this time worn down to a mere skeleton, and the restoration of his health appeared extremely doubtful. His enemies had often killed him in report, and had even insinuated that he had been buried by his friends in a clandestine manner." Dr. C. continues—"'This night,' writes a friend, 'we were assaulted on both sides of the house at prayer with a volley of stones, so that some were obliged to fly to the windows to secure the blinds for fear of our sustaining damage.'" Subsequently to this were enacted the most intolerant and persecuting laws, which aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of the missionaries from the island; but which, being opposed to the express command of the "King of kings," and, therefore, necessarily disobeyed by his servants, they were frequently subjected to the indignities of the judgment seat and the prison. These were, indeed, times of rebuke, and blasphemy, and trial. The situation of the missionaries was often painful in the extreme; frequently were they compelled to submit to the mandates of colonial law, and doomed to witness the progress of iniquity, without being permitted to raise their voice against it. Time would fail to enumerate the nature and the number of the laws that were successively enacted by the Legislature to arrest the progress of religious knowledge, and rivet afresh the fetters of

ignorance upon their unhappy vassals. One of these enactments restricted the communication of Christian instruction to the slaves before sun-rise and after sun-set, the only times when they could possibly attend for such a purpose; another was an act by which every missionary was subjected to a fine of 20*l.* for every negro found in his congregation; these were followed by a succession of others of the same nature and spirit too tedious to detail, down to the period of the last eventful insurrection in 1832. Thus the whites, notwithstanding their superior advantages, instead of being the most respectable and happy members of society, were the most *wretched* and *corrupt*—so far from setting a good example to their dependants, they adopted every possible means to impair the reverence due to religion, and to weaken the hinges of moral action. The very term "sectarian" served as a convenient synonyme for ignorance and persecution, while misrepresentation and calumny were most liberally employed to alienate the people, generally, from the hallowed institutions of religion, and to excite their prejudices and their passions against its ministers.

The following examples will illustrate and confirm the truth of the preceding observations:—

On one occasion, when in the interior of the country, an application was made by a white man for an interview with a missionary, who soon perceived that he had been favoured with a religious education, and that, although his career had been marked by great excesses, that he was not wholly insensible to moral feel-

ing; and the missionary, therefore, endeavoured, in a faithful and affectionate manner, to press upon his attention the great truths of the Gospel. The tears started in his eyes, and he exclaimed, with apparent anguish of heart, "What, sir, shall I do? You have no idea of the degree of wickedness that prevails among the people of my own colour throughout the country. I am a poor man, and, therefore, cannot leave the island, or else most gladly would I do so; besides, I am now out of employment; and were it known that I had attended the preaching of a missionary, or were it even known that I had spoken to one (and it will be known throughout the parish before to-morrow night), what think you will be the treatment I shall receive from the overseers of the different properties when I go in pursuit of employment?" The conclusion of his statement must be omitted.

On another occasion a missionary met with an individual who had once made a profession of religion, but who had long since awfully fallen, had given himself up to sin, and to work all uncleanness with greediness. He had attended a religious meeting, and the singing, combined with other circumstances, awakening some long slumbering recollections, although partially intoxicated, he requested an interview. He seemed wretched, and repeatedly exclaimed, "O, this country! I am a wretched and miserable man. So far as the body is concerned, I have enough and to spare, but my soul! what is to become of that? I have never had a happy moment, sir, since I turned my back upon God!"

An apparently pious and excellent man, just arrived from Scotland, was urged by a near relative to give up his religion at once, as it would ruin and disgrace them both. On his refusal he was turned out of doors, and directed to seek employment as a book-keeper on an estate. He did so; and on an interview which he sought with his relative (for he *seemed* to have had the spirit as well as the circumstantials of genuine piety) previously to his entering upon the duties of his new situation, what does the reader think constituted the essence of the parting adieu?—"If your religion is not beaten out of you in a few days," said the experienced libertine and atheist, "I shall be sadly out of my reckoning." Lamentable to relate, this prediction, as has doubtless been the case in hundreds of similar instances, was but too strictly verified.

"I have just been conversing," said a friend to a missionary one evening, "with a professional gentleman from the country, on the subject of religion. He wept aloud, and said 'that Jamaica was a hell upon earth.'"

These are plain irrefutable facts. So plain and so irrefutable that the conscience of every man acquainted with the general state of society, if suffered to speak out, would unhesitatingly confirm them.

On some estates it was customary for the head book-keeper to read the burial-service at the funerals of the christened negroes. It was so at R. H.; and on the death of a pious negro the book-keeper appeared at the appointed time at the place of interment, and, placing himself at the side of the grave, opened the prayer-book and began the service. He was agitated,

and read the few first lines with a faltering voice, but when he came to that part of it which refers to the resurrection of the dead, he trembled to such a degree that the book fell from his hands, and running hastily away left the corpse uninterred. The deceased having been much respected, the funeral procession was numerous, composed of almost all the negroes on the estate, and others of piety from the surrounding ones. These were all witnesses of this spectacle, and were at length obliged to perform the last sad offices themselves. Many of the poor people who were present declared this to be a fact, and moreover asserted that the book-keeper, when his terror had subsided, swore that he would never act as chaplain again.

C——, a planting attorney who had been a great tyrant to the slaves under his charge, was so afraid of being poisoned by some of them that he would not eat anything unless it had been prepared and cooked for him by his house-keeper. He even thought that this was not exercising sufficient caution, but kept a boy, the illegitimate offspring of one of the white men on the estate, constantly sitting on the threshold of the cook-house, during the process, to watch lest any negro entered either it or his dwelling, having the door of the cook-house carefully locked in the interval. He at one time thought that his vigilance had been eluded, and that he was slightly poisoned. He was wretched, and his health became gradually impaired. For its restoration he performed a voyage to his native country. During his absence his slaves received more humane treatment, and were compara-

tively happy. After the lapse of a period which seemed to justify the hope that they would never again be subjected to his despotic sway, and when cheerfully at work on the public road, his return was announced. They heard the tidings with consternation, and on its being added by their informant that he was on the road, and would soon be in sight, they simultaneously threw down their hoes and fled into the woods, shouting "O, da buckra da come again, come kill we." Perceiving the terror his appearance created he again became wretched, and at last left the island with a determination never to return to it again.

As they have lived so many of them have died. Justly may it be asked, "Who ever fought against God and prospered?"

Mr. ——, abhorred by almost all who had a tinge of colour in their complexion, a proprietor and a magistrate, among his other vices, was much addicted to the use of ardent spirits. A short time before his death, though confined to his bed, from which he had no prospect of rising again, he was in a state of constant intoxication. The brandy-bottle which for years had stood constantly by his bed-side was frequently emptied during the course of twenty-four hours. A few minutes before he ceased to breathe he vociferated so loudly and furiously for more that he was heard at some distance. On entering his chamber the blood which had flowed from his mouth as the effect of mercury and fever, was seen besmeared over his face, which, together with his fiend-like ravings, gave such an aspect of horror to his countenance and gestures

that even his negro servants and other attendants were afraid to go near him, and their terror was not a little increased by the horrible imprecations he uttered and the curses he called down upon them for not obeying his commands. He expired on the floor, in the midst of blasphemies, while attempting to revenge himself on his attendants for their neglect.

Within the last twenty years, but more remarkably since 1838, a very considerable improvement has become perceptible in this class of society, especially in the towns, and in particular districts of the country.* Public opinion in the mother country, and more frequent contact with Europeans of both sexes, added to the influence which has been exerted by family men, as Governors, Judges, and professional men in general, have served to stimulate the Jamaica females to the possession of superior accomplishments and the cultivation of more controllable and generous feelings. Numbers of them also have been educated in the first boarding-schools in England, and have therefore, as may be supposed, effected considerable reformation in the circles in which they have afterwards moved. Some, it is true, have relapsed into the listless, apathetic habits of those around them; but a progressive advancement in delicacy of feeling, liberality of sentiment, and in all the refinements of polished society, is clearly perceptible. Many ladies in Jamaica, both as

* The families of the Marquis of Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith exerted an especially beneficial influence in elevating the tone and character of society among the upper classes.

to their persons, manners, and general character, would be an ornament to any society in the world.

A considerable reformation has also been effected in the moral and social habits of the other sex, especially in the towns. In the country, with some exceptions in favour of particular districts and isolated families, it is painful to add that the picture as previously drawn is still but a too faithful representation. So difficult is it for anything short of divine agency to correct inveterate habits of evil, that drunkenness, profane swearing, concubinage, and licentiousness, with every other kind and degree of wickedness, still prevails to an awful extent, although less unblushingly than formerly. Proprietors, if they cannot be prevailed upon to act from higher motives, cannot fail in a short time to discover it to be their interest, to encourage, rather than discountenance, the formation of more reputable connections by managers and others on their estates. Not only is the practice of concubinage awfully demoralising to all classes and colours, as well as a source of misery to a body of men, some of whom are desirous of cultivating the social virtues, but from the influence of religion on the minds of the peasantry, it renders the perpetrators pitiable, if not despicable, in their estimation, and will tend powerfully to prevent the growth of that mutual respect and confidence which are essential to prosperity and happiness in a state of freedom. The foregoing statements may be regarded as descriptive of white society in the country districts at the present day. The exceptions, which

are gradually increasing, being from their secluded habits comparatively isolated and unknown, do not at present afford any material relief to the dark and forbidding outline.

It is delightful to contemplate the change which in this respect has taken place in the towns. Here a goodly and rapidly increasing number have abandoned their former licentious habits, and have entered the marriage state. Amongst these it must be confessed that the Jews furnish the most numerous and reputable examples. Among them marriages with persons of their own nation have always been common, and are obviously on the increase; whilst the disgrace formerly attached to a matrimonial alliance of a white man with a female of colour no longer exists, numbers of the most influential individuals in the colony having broken down the barrier which a popular, but corrupt, prejudice had raised against it. Hence some of the highest civic officers and merchants, with others in all classes of society, have lately married the mothers of their families, and have availed themselves of the advantages of a retrospective clause in a recent Marriage Act, which, under such circumstances, legitimatizes their children. Embracing all these redeeming features, however, even with regard to the more densely populated and more highly civilized parts of the island, and placing them in the most conspicuous and advantageous light, it must still be confessed that they are but as specks of verdure amidst universal barrenness and desolation—as obscured and scattered lights amidst thick and prevailing darkness.

These vices are yet to be met with in high places. They are still patronized to a fearful degree by the examples of merchants, tradesmen, and some high public functionaries. It is yet the case, that crimes which in other countries would be considered and treated as a wanton insult to society at large, do not generally exclude the guilty parties from the pale of respectable society, or generally operate to their disadvantage among the female portion of the community. The reckless destroyers of female innocence and happiness still unite in the dance, mingle in public entertainments, are sometimes admitted at the social board, and are on terms of intimacy with the younger branches of families. Nor, revolting as it may be to English feelings, is it much otherwise towards a known and habitual adulterer. Nor is this all; the possession of an illicit establishment by a suitor even at the present day operates as no objection in the mind of a Jamaica female to an alliance with him in marriage. It is not indeed unusual, in the event of satisfactory arrangements of a pecuniary kind being previously made, for the quondam mistress to assist in the arrangements for the marriage ceremony, to reside on some part of the premises, or to continue on terms of intimacy with the family of her former lord.

When will the respectable families and individuals of Jamaica wipe away the reproach which such practices cannot fail to fix upon their characters? That the barbarism and demoralizing influence of such a state of things are becoming the subjects of increasing discussion among all classes; that they are repudiated,

privately condemned, and in solitary instances publicly discountenanced, is evident. All that is required in order to correct, and finally to annihilate, the monstrous evil, is for females and family men in general to make against it at once *a vigorous and determined stand.*

With so much that is evil in the moral and social condition of the white inhabitants, it will scarcely be expected that a very flattering account can be given of their general progression with regard to the great subject of religion. A darkness in this respect *thick, gross, and palpable* still prevails. Not only is there manifested the most awful indifference to the obligations of Christianity, but in numberless cases the most contemptuous disregard of it; in a word, infidelity, so congenial with long habits, and so suitable to depraved tastes and inclinations, still obtains to a very great extent, fostered and confirmed by the vile publications, few in number though they are, found upon estates, and the almost entire restriction of intercourse in such places to corrupt and vicious company. Prejudice against religion and its professors, however, is becoming far less inveterate and general among all classes of the whites throughout the country. Many have exemplified their liberality by assisting missionaries in various ways in the erection of chapels and school-houses, while outward persecution has entirely ceased.

Multitudes of planters and merchants, who were once the greatest enemies to religion and its professors, are now occasionally seen in a place of worship

on the Sabbath. Whilst many have lately become savingly converted to God, have put on Christ by an open profession of his name, have formed reputable connexions in marriage, are ornaments to society, blessings to all around them, are confided in, esteemed, and beloved by the peasantry, and will unfailingly secure the prosperity of the properties of which they are either the proprietors or managers.*

The extent to which the change with respect to religion has taken place in the towns can scarcely be conceived even by those who are most sanguine as to the progress of favourable events. The Sabbath-day is now recognised as the day of God. Hundreds of

* An overseer, or, as he is more properly called in some other islands, manager, is the principal person on an estate under the proprietor or his attorney. A book-keeper is subordinate to the overseer, and superintends the labours of the field, and the manufacture of its produce. The latter appellation is most inappropriate—a Jamaica book-keeper having no books to keep.

One of the greatest blessings that could be conferred on white servants on estates would be a *library* of good and useful books. There have been instances known in which two or three infidel publications have been all that some poor book-keepers and others have seen for years, and which, in a few leisure moments after the toils of the day, or in times of recovery from sickness, they have been almost compelled to read to beguile the tediousness of their solitary and oftentimes melancholy hours. After all, our white countrymen on estates and properties in the interior of the country have been, and are still, in a situation very far from enviable; and it is high time that something should be done for their improvement and comfort.

In some large manufactories, &c., in England, proprietors feel it to their interest to promote the *morals* of their dependants, and for this purpose connect libraries with their establishments, and in every other way endeavour to promote their social and domestic comfort. Surely West Indian proprietors are to be found who only need to be reminded of the mutual advantages to be derived from similar means in order to their speedy adoption.

the most respectable families are seen attending different places of religious worship who a short time since were scarcely ever within the walls of such an edifice. The Bible is no longer a proscribed or unknown book, nor are children brought up either to ridicule its hallowed doctrines or to despise its salutary restraints.

Bible societies, school societies, anti-slavery societies, and various institutions of a similar kind, have at length excited the sympathies and co-operation of the respectable female portion of the community; and gentlemen of the first standing in society are no longer ashamed to advocate the claims of such institutions by presiding at their anniversaries and contributing liberally and openly to their funds. The opinion that religion consisted only in an occasional attendance at the parish church is no longer general. It begins to be regarded as a *daily* and *personal* concern, and has become the subject of conversation in families where a little time ago its introduction would have excited ridicule or contempt.

Books of all descriptions, many of them the Tract Society's publications, have found their way into private libraries,—are found on drawing-room tables,—and are extensively read. Above all, a *family altar* is erected in the houses of many leading men in the community, at which they themselves preside,—a practice which even ten years since would have subjected them in the public newspapers to contempt and scorn, and which, with the exception of a few isolated instances among laymen, was then totally unknown. The elevating and purifying influences of religion are

extending themselves among our countrymen and their descendants, encouraging the hope that irreligion and profligacy, persecution and bigotry, the unfailing concomitants of slavery, will disappear with the system which nurtured them to such an awful maturity and power.

CHAPTER X.

PEOPLE OF COLOUR AND FREE BLACKS.

Former Condition—Causes of difference of Complexion and Circumstances—Political State—Proscription from Society of White Inhabitants—Low State of Morals—Removal of Disabilities—Rapid Advancement in Civilization and the Social Scale—Present Condition.

With the exception of the Maroons, or "Hog-hunters," as the term imports, descendants of the slaves whom the Spaniards left behind them on the conquest of the island by the British, the inhabitants were divided into only two distinctive classes, white and black; the external peculiarities of which determined the condition of the parties as it respected slavery or freedom. In process of time, owing to manumissions granted to domestics as a reward for long and faithful services, together with those on whom that boon had been bestowed by the House of Assembly, chiefly for distinguished efforts in endeavouring to restore tranquillity to their oft distracted community, in addition to the favoured few who had been enabled to obtain their enfranchisement by purchase, there arose, from among the sons and daughters of Ethiopia, an increasing body of persons of free condition denominated free blacks and people of colour. The latter, descended from an intermixture of whites, blacks, and Indians, soon formed an intermediate race whom the Spaniards distinguished by

appellations varying according to their approach in consanguinity to their white or black progenitors. Five principal varieties are generally enumerated as descending from the original negro stock, the sambos, mulattoes, quadroons, mestees, and mestiphinoes. But to these refined distinctions, the Spaniards add the tercirons and the giveros, whom they are said to have proscribed and banished as beings of the worst inclinations and principles. The Dutch recognised gradations still more minute, and which they attempt to distinguish and designate by adding drops of pure water to a single drop of dusky liquor until it becomes nearly transparent.

A sambo is the offspring of a black woman by a mulatto man. A mulatto is the child of a black woman by a white man. A quadroon is the offspring of a mulatto woman by a white man, and a mestee is that of a quadroon woman by a white man. The offspring of a female mestee by a white man being above the third in lineal descent from the negro ancestor was white in the estimation of the law, and enjoyed all the privileges and immunities of Her Majesty's white subjects, but all the rest, whether mulattoes, quadroons, or mestees, were considered by the law as mulattoes or persons of colour. A creole, whatever his condition or external peculiarities, is a native; thus it is customary to say, a creole white, a creole of colour, or a creole black.

The colonial legislature, gravely assuming that recently enfranchised blacks could acquire no sense of morality by the mere act of manumission (although it cannot be doubted but that, in reality, they were influenced by far less exceptionable motives); the politi-

cal and civil condition of this class was of the most abject and oppressive character, desirable only when compared with the bondage to which it had succeeded. They were not admitted as evidence against white or other free-born persons in courts of justice, or allowed to vote at parochial or general elections. Like the common slaves, the only mode of trial which they were granted, was by two justices and three freeholders, the judges themselves being probably interested in the issue of the case. Nor did even the people of colour possess immunities to an extent to justify their claim to freedom even in the most restricted import of the term. However wealthy or respectable, and some of them were equally so with many of the more privileged whites, their evidence was inadmissible in criminal cases, both against white persons and those of their own colour. The right of trial by a jury of their own peers conceded by the British constitution even to foreigners, was denied to them. They were ineligible to the office of magistrates or churchwardens, to serve on parochial vestries, to hold commissions in the black and coloured companies of militia, or to sit on juries. To this catalogue of disabilities may be added those created by the 35th section of the colonial statute, which enacts, "that no Jew, mulatto, Indian, or negro, shall be capable to officiate, or be employed, to unite in, or for, any of the public offices therein mentioned." They were not eligible to the office of a common constable, or even to the situation of overseers or book-keepers on estates. Not only were they excluded from the privilege of representing their own colour in the colonial

assembly, but they had no elective franchise, and were consequently denied the right of even voting at elections for the return of white members to the assembly, and thus virtually refused all right of representation. It was even held illegal for them to possess property beyond a certain amount, lest they might acquire an influence which they might one day exert "injuriously to the island." Thus in an act of assembly passed in the year 1762, it is declared "that a testamentary devise from a white person to a negro, or mulatto not born in wedlock, of a real and personal estate exceeding in value 2000*l.* currency, or about 1200*l.* sterling, shall be void, and the property shall descend to the heir at law." They were not allowed to possess either a sugar or a coffee estate; and no one of them, except he possessed a settlement with ten slaves upon it, could keep any horses, mares, mules, asses or neat cattle on penalty of forfeiture.* Those who had not settlements were obliged to furnish themselves with certificates of their freedom under the hand and seal of a justice, and to wear a blue cross on the right shoulder on pain of imprisonment. If free coloured individuals were convicted of concealing, enticing, entertaining, or sending off the island, any fugitive, rebellious or other slave, they were to forfeit their freedom, be sold and banished. Unless the fact could be incontestably certified by documents, there was a legal presumption against the freedom of a black or coloured man, and in the event of the inability of such individuals to produce satisfactory documents, cases which were of constant occurrence,

* Long, vol. ii., pp. 321-323.

he was committed to the workhouse, worked in chains, ultimately sold by auction to defray the expenses of his imprisonment, and himself and his posterity doomed to perpetual bondage. On every hand were they goaded by oppression as cruel and unnatural as it was unjust and impolitic. Fear is the offspring of tyranny and the companion of guilt; hence the whites were continually conjuring up dreams of rebellion and massacre. Scarcely therefore could these inoffensive people meet together without being suspected of insurrectionary designs. Nor were the whites negligent in devising expedients to banish the most influential of them from the colony as persons of dangerous principles. This object indeed they effected in the year 1823, by the operation of an alien act introduced into the Legislature for no other purpose. The first victims of this disgraceful statute were Messrs. Lescene, Escoffery, and Gonville, whose cause was so ably and triumphantly pleaded before the British parliament by Dr. Lushington.

Not only were they oppressed and bowed down by the operation of unjust and cruel laws, but there was yet another circumstance connected with the condition of the coloured and black population, in some respects still more painful. The most inveterate prejudice existed against them on account of their colour. Hence they were universally prohibited all intercourse of equality with the whites, and if of such an opprobrious distinction they ventured to complain, they were often insultingly told that they were "the descendants of the ourang-outang;" that their mothers hunted the tiger

in the wilds of Africa; and that, but for the generosity of their sires, in place of possessing freedom and property, their lot would have been to dig cane-holes beneath the discipline of the driver's cart-whip.

At church, if a man of colour, however respectable in circumstances or character, entered the pew of the lowest white man, he was instantly ordered out. At any place of public entertainment designed for the whites, he never dared to make his appearance. With the people of colour, indeed, the whites, like the Egyptians in reference to the Israelites, held it an abomination even to eat bread. This senseless prejudice haunted its victims in the "hospital where humanity suffers, in the prison where it expiates its offences, and in the grave-yards where it sleeps the last sleep." In whomsoever the least trace of an African origin could be discovered the curse of slavery pursued him, and no advantages either of wealth, talent, virtue, education, or accomplishments, were sufficient to relieve him from the infamous proscription.

Under these circumstances, who can be surprised that, among this class also, there should have existed an awful laxity of morals? Unlike their white progenitors, however, they were not generally chargeable with the vice of drunkenness, with opposition to the spread of religion, nor with bigotry, infidelity, and persecution. In every other respect, especially in licentiousness, they but too faithfully followed the example of the privileged orders. Alluding to the people of colour, says Stewart in 1823, "few marriages take place

among them. Most of the females of colour think it more genteel to be the kept mistress of a white man." They viewed marriage as an unnecessary restraint. Worse than this;—and can it be heard by Christian parents without a thrill of horror?—in hundreds of instances, mothers and fathers gave away in friendship, or sold, their daughters at the tenderest ages for the worst of purposes, or became the guardians of their virtue for a time only to enhance its future price.

> "Bred only and completed to the taste
> Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
> To troll the tongue and roll the eye."

These were not isolated cases, exceptions rather than general rules; so common was the practice that, negociations for these purposes were carried on at noonday. Such was the debasement of moral feeling, that the most infamous excesses were perpetrated without a blush of shame, and among this class also there was one universal riot in the vicious indulgences of an indiscriminate sensuality.

Parents the reckless murderers of the innocence of their own offspring! Wanton and infamous abandonment of every fine and virtuous feeling! Alas! for the influence of slavery.

By the efforts of a few noble spirits among their body, amongst whom as the most conspicuous and influential were Richard Hill and Edward Jordon, Esqrs., together with Messrs. Lescene, Escoffery, and Gonville, their disabilities were at length removed, and they were admitted to a full participation of civil

privileges with the whites. This occurred in the year 1828. Relieved from those proscriptions by which they had been enthralled and bowed down, they as a body immediately began to advance in the scale of civilization, intelligence, and virtue, so that at the present time they discover a renovation of character and a degree of improvement in manners, customs, and knowledge, of which history, in a similar space of time, scarcely affords a parallel. In their houses, dress, personal appearance (complexion excepted), general deportment, wealth, morals, and religion, many of them are on an equality with the most respectable of the whites. Nor are they less so in the higher attainments of the mind. There are now to be found among them men of talent, learning, and accomplishments, who would do honour to any community. They fill the public offices, practise as solicitors and barristers in the courts of law; are found among our tradesmen, merchants, and estate proprietors; are directors of our civil institutions; are enrolled among our magistrates; and have even obtained a seat and influence in the senate. The generosity of the females of colour has ever been proverbial; and their kindness to strangers suffering from the diseases of the country has won for them universal gratitude and admiration. Neither are they less remarkable for their social and domestic qualities. There have always been found among them some who in no respect suffered by a comparison with the most respectable of the whites. For several years this number has been increasing,

[Mulatto and Black Female of the Upper Classes.]

and soon, by the possession of equal advantages, everything like a characteristic distinction between these two classes will be lost.

"Children we are all
Of one great Father, in whatever clime
His Providence hath cast the seed of life,—
All tongues, all colours! Neither after death
Shall we be sorted into languages
And tints—white, black, and tawny, Greek and Goth,
Northman and offspring of hot Africa;
Th' all-seeing Father—he in whom we live and move—
He, th' indifferent Judge of all—regards
Nations, and hues, and dialects alike;
According to their works shall they be judged."

With this advancement on the part of the more

educated portion of the people of colour there has been also a corresponding improvement on the part of the working classes and the higher orders of the blacks. The latter have advanced to that degree in the scale of civilization and intelligence formerly occupied by the people of colour, and the former to that previously held by their more favoured white brethren.

In no respect do these now differ from the middling and lower classes of tradesmen and others in England. Their eyes have long been open to the disgrace and sin of concubinage, and marriage among them has become common. The eye of the Christian is now delighted, especially on the Sabbath, by the spectacle of multitudes of these classes with their families walking to and from the house of God in company.

As in every other community, some may live together unhappily, or may violate the sacred compact, but with the great majority it is otherwise. None can be better husbands, better wives, more affectionate parents, or better members of civil society. Nor are any people in general better disposed towards the great subject of religion.

CHAPTER XI.

SECT. I. POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE BLACK POPULATION.—Origin of the Slave Trade—Its Atrocities—Slaves, when first brought to Jamaica, and by whom—Dreadful Nature and Consequences of Slavery as it existed in Jamaica.

SECT. II. ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—Origin of the African Institution—Efforts for ameliorating the Condition of the Slaves—Conduct of the Jamaica House of Assembly—Insurrection or Disturbance in 1832 and 1833—Its real Causes—Destruction of Mission Property—Wanton and awful Sacrifice of Negro Life by the Whites—Imprisonment and Trial of Missionaries—Their triumphant Acquittal.

SECT. III. THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.—Its Impolicy, Injustice, and Cruelty—Inefficiency as a Preparative to Freedom—Special Magistrates—Excited and unsettled State of the Black Population as the Result of the Operation of this System—Representation of the State of Things by Missionaries—Messrs. Sturge, Harvey, and others.

SECT. IV. TOTAL EMANCIPATION.—Manner in which it was celebrated—Conduct of the Newly-Emancipated—Conduct of the Planters—Subsequent Differences—Establishment of new Villages—Restoration to Harmony and Peace—General Prosperity and Happiness.

SECTION I.—It has been already stated that, previously to its possession by the British, negroes had been imported into Jamaica by the Spaniards, a crime to the commission of which they were impelled by avarice, regarding it as the best means of supplying the want of labourers created by the destruction of the aboriginal inhabitants. In thus making merchandise of the bodies and souls of men they followed the example of

the Portuguese, who began the infamous traffic in 1442 at Cape Bojador, under their celebrated navigator Anthony Gonzalez. Great numbers are said to have been imported into Jamaica as early as 1551, under the sanction of Ferdinand V. of Spain.

But the first cargo of which we have any authentic record was conveyed to the island by some Genoese merchants in 1517, to whom the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent for the annual supply of 4000 slaves to his West Indian possessions generally.

The traffic was found to be lucrative, and the lust of avarice obliterating all sense of justice and every feeling of humanity, it was soon participated in by all the great maritime powers of Europe.

The first Englishman who thus dishonoured himself and his country was Captain, afterwards Sir John Hawkins, who, in conjunction with several wealthy merchants in London, fitted out three ships on this execrable enterprise in 1562.

Sanctioned by Charles I. and II., as well as by succeeding monarchs, to such an extent had it increased under the British flag, that, in 1771, one hundred and ninety-two ships were employed in the trade, and the number of slaves imported was from 38,000 to 40,000.

The hapless victims of this revolting system were natives of the African continent—men of the same common origin with ourselves,—of the same form and delineation of feature, though with a darker skin,—men endowed with minds equal in dignity, equal in capacity, and equal in duration of existence,—men of

the same social dispositions and affections, and destined to occupy the same rank with ourselves in the great family of man.

The means by which they were obtained were in the highest degree unlawful and unjust. Their inhuman captors had nothing like a colourable pretext to assign for their rapacity: their fiend-like purposes were accomplished by violence, fire, and every other instrument of devastation and murder which sagacity could contrive, or the lust of avarice prompt. Every tie, human and divine, was violated.

Nobles and princes were severed from their tribes and territories; husbands, wives, and children from each other. They were barbarously manacled,—driven like herds of cattle to the sea-shore, oftentimes at a distance of some hundreds of miles, exposed to the burning heat and pestilential atmosphere of their sun-burnt land, and then crowded into the holds of slave-ships. Arrived at the destined port (for a veil must be cast over the horrors of the middle passage), these poor wretches were sold at public outcry to the highest bidder,—were driven in chains (frequently naked) by their purchasers to their respective domiciles, and the greater part of them doomed to toil almost without rest or intermission, until relieved by death from their captivity and suffering.

Chiefly by the self-denying and arduous exertions of the eminent philanthropists Sharpe, Clarkson, and Wilberforce, aided by different religious bodies, but especially by the Society of Friends, the righteous indig-

nation of the British people was at length aroused by the atrocities which this hateful traffic involved, and, no longer able to resist the united claims of reason, justice and humanity, in 1807 the imperial parliament decreed its abolition. While, however, this act prevented the importation of fresh victims into the colony, slavery itself, with all its enormities, still existed. Those already brought were reduced to a state of vassalage, the most degrading to which human beings could be subjected, stripped of every right that life holds dear, outcasts from the common privileges of humanity, deprived of the essential attributes of man, without a legal claim to the produce of their own labour, or even to the possession of their wives and children. Driven to their labour by the cart-whip, classed with appurtenances of the estates to which they belonged, and bred for the exclusive purposes of sale and labour, their condition was not distinguishable from that of the passive brute. As though to keep their spirits in perpetual prostration, and to extinguish every spark of the man within them, many were branded like sheep or oxen, with the initials of their owner's name, an indignity to which they were liable as often as their purchaser was changed. They were perpetually liable to arbitrary, indecent, and excessive punishment. The most trifling circumstances could easily be magnified into crimes which would nerve the arm of the despot to whom this power was delegated, and who, at his pleasure, could inflict whatever punishment he chose, without any regard to condition, sex, or age.

Not only did the task-master torture the bodies of his vassals by the whip, but he also corrupted their morals by his licentiousness. There was no law either to guard the *chastity* of a *female* slave, or to avenge any insult that might be offered to her violated honour. Nay more, the simple expression of nature on the part of a slave as he witnessed the ruin of his wife, his mother, or his daughter by any of the white fraternity, was legally prohibited, and an attempt to protect them might be punishable with death. Thus, as they had no protection in their domestic intercourse, so neither had they any security in their sympathies and sorrows. They were subject to punishment at all times, which was inflicted by various legalized instruments of torture, by the common stocks, the thumb-screw, the field stocks, the iron collar, the yoke, the block and tackle, and the cart-whip.

For running away from severe usage, a slave was deemed rebellious, and might be mutilated. Acts for which a white man would be only imprisoned were deemed capital crimes in a slave. If any event transpired which could be construed into an insurrection, these poor creatures were shot like wild beasts, or hunted down with blood-hounds; if they made the least resistance they were hewn to pieces; if taken, were doomed to banishment or hopeless imprisonment in chains. If actually concerned in treasonable practices, they were condemned without trial, and expiated their crimes by sufferings inflicted with a wantonness of cruelty never exceeded by the most degraded barbarians.

While however their oppressors, as caprice or passion dictated, could thus inflict upon their wretched vassals sufferings almost beyond endurance, a slave who raised his hand by nature's instinct for his own protection, or struck, or dared to strike, or used any violence towards, or compassed or imagined, the death of a master or mistress, was doomed to suffer death without benefit of clergy. On the other hand, the murder of a slave by a white man was a venial offence, and from the inadmissibility of slave evidence often escaped punishment altogether. The slave was therefore entirely unprotected from the tyranny of his master, nor could he be a party in any civil action, either as plaintiff, defendant, informant, or prosecutor, *against any person of free condition.* Thus he was protected only as an inferior animal. Should he be maimed by a free person, the damage would not be awarded to him, but to his master. Even the natural right of self-defence was denied to a slave. Notwithstanding, however, his exclusion from the protection of the law, he was liable to its restraints, and thus underwent the miseries of a beast of burden without enjoying its immunities. Such was the penal code to which the slaves were subjected. The manner in which they were tried was, if possible, still more disgraceful and oppressive. On charges which did not affect their lives, it was competent for a single justice, or for two at most, to decide.

The little huts in which they resided, lowly though they were, yet being of their own erecting, the rural spots which they had cultivated around them, and the trees by which they were embosomed, planted by their

own hands, and beneath the shade of which they had so often rested from their toils, and especially the circumstance that these spots were hallowed by the tombs of their friends and kindred, would naturally beget local attachments of a most powerful, and almost superstitious character. But from these spots, thus hallowed by affection, thus endeared by all the feelings which constitute *home*, and perhaps the only objects that ever awakened the tenderness of their hearts, they were liable to be torn away for ever, and with it, from their wives, their children, and all the companions of their youth, torn away either at the caprice of their master, or in execution for his debts—sold by auction to the highest bidder, and carried into a strange and unknown neighbourhood.

"Numerous and cruel though the oppressions are, by which the poor negroes are degraded, tormented, and destroyed," says Mr. Stephen, "there are two which I have regarded as by far the worst, not only because the most general and afflictive, but because they give birth, and virulence, and tenacity to almost all the rest—I mean the truly enormous amount of field-labour to which the negroes are coerced, and the almost incredible degree of parsimony with which they are maintained." Their labour, under the fervent heat of a tropical sun, was indeed cruelly excessive, sufficient, during a comparatively short period of time, to expend the vigour and exhaust the spirits of the strongest and most energetic frame, inasmuch as they had to perform by manual operation those processes which, in every other country, are performed by horses,

oxen, and machinery. In thousands of instances did it induce exhaustion and weakness, sickness, and premature death, facts of which no question can be entertained, it having been proved to a demonstration that the destruction of human life in those islands where sugar is most cultivated has been going on at a rate which, were it generally to prevail, would depopulate the earth in half a century.*

And for all these wearisome labours they received no wages; their toil was purely unrequited—unrequited not merely in a pecuniary sense, but frequently as it respected lodging, clothing, and food. Nor from their wretched condition was there any prospect of deliverance. The better their behaviour the more likely were they to be detained in bondage. No legal facilities were afforded by which they might be enabled to purchase their freedom, even if they possessed the means; on the contrary, the law actually interfered to prevent masters, who might be thus inclined, from giving them their liberty. They would have had one solace, had this dreary doom been *only* their own; but it was not. It was hereditary. Slavery seemed to be a taint in the blood which no length of time, no change of relationship, could obliterate; it was entailed on the posterity of the slave to the remotest period. Their children and their children's children, through each successive generation, were heirs of the same inheritance.

But there is still another light in which the condition of the negro must be viewed. Not only were their bodily sufferings almost beyond endurance—not only

* See Sir Fowell Buxton's admirable work on the Slave Trade.

were they consigned by thousands to a premature grave, and given over to dreary, hopeless, and hereditary bondage, but their cruel task-masters carefully excluded them from all opportunities of Divine worship, and thus interposed their power between them and their Creator, as though determined to retain them in ignorance of the gospel, as the only effectual means of perpetuating the existence of their inhuman system. Thus, as clearly expressed in the Consolidated Slave Act of 1816, they were not permitted to attend a place of worship, or to engage in religious duties in their own habitation, without a special licence from the magistrates. And for the crime of worshipping God without their masters' permission they were ever liable to punishment.

"O for the day when slavery shall not be
Where England rules, but all her sons be free;
When Western India, and Mauritia's isle,
Loos'd from their bands, shall learn at length to smile;
When *colour* shall no longer man degrade,
And Christ by all shall be alike obey'd."

SECTION II.—This state of things continued until the year 1814, a year distinguished by the pledge given for the abolition of the traffic by the representatives of the great powers of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, which led to discussions in the British Parliament on the subject of slavery as it existed in the colonies. At the same time awful disclosures were continually being made by the African Association, a society formed on the 14th of June,

1807, by the great philanthropists of the day, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, Stephen, Macaulay, Buxton, Allen, and others, for the promotion of the general interests of the African race, and of which his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester was president. Missionaries of different denominations becoming more numerous, more familiar with the atrocities of the system, and less able to submit to the prudential restraints enjoined upon them by the societies to which they belonged, added their testimony as eye-witnesses to the mass of evidence already before the public, and the sympathies of the country were again powerfully excited. Mr. Wilberforce, now greatly enfeebled, was succeeded, as the great parliamentary champion of the African race, by Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., who, like his predecessor, with a heart deeply imbued with philanthropic feeling, and unappalled by the difficulties and obloquy which stared him in the face, in March, 1823, brought forward a resolution in the House of Commons, "declaring that slavery was repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions." It was intended that this resolution should be at once succeeded by ameliorative measures; and though the motion was rejected by the House, yet the feelings and sentiments of the nation were not to be disregarded; and to allay the general excitement, one of a similar, though less comprehensive kind, was substituted by Mr. Canning. This was at length adopted, and recommended to the consideration of the Colonial Legis-

lature. It was received by them with indignation, and finally rejected with contempt and scorn. Ebullitions of feeling against the missionaries of different denominations, but against the Baptist missionaries in particular, were now more violent than ever. They were denounced, both by the white portion of the populace, by the press (long the vehicle of malignant and vulgar defamation), and by the Colonial Legislature, as being in league with the Anti-Slavery Society, by whom the Government was instigated to effect their ruin. In common with missionaries of other denominations they were frequently cited before Committees of the House of Assembly for the most contemptible of purposes—harassed with warrants for not serving in the militia, circumscribed and impeded in their benevolent efforts by oppressive laws, and treated with all the indignity and virulence which prejudice and mortified tyranny could dictate. In Barbadoes and Demerara these feelings, no longer capable of control, were vented in the demolition of a Wesleyan chapel, accompanied by other outrages, which were consummated by the murder of the missionary Smith.

These grievances, with the means adopted for their redress, together with the factious opposition of the colonists to the reasonable requisitions of the Government, served to diffuse still more widely a knowledge of the evils of the existing system, and had the effect of uniting all classes and societies of professing Christians in a prompt and determined effort for remedial measures. The Anti-Slavery Society was more than ever diligent in the diffusion of its publications—lec-

turers were appointed to traverse the country to inform more generally the public mind—the pulpit lent its aid to the same great object, as the result of which, petitions from all parts of the land poured into both houses of Parliament in such numbers that the appeals could no longer be withstood. The Colonial Legislature was requested by Lord Goderich, in 1831, to re-consider the despatches of Earl Bathurst in 1823. The recommendation was again treated with general contempt, while the most inflammatory speeches were made throughout the country, both in public and private, against the missionaries and the British Government, accompanied by menaces of rebellion on the part of the white inhabitants against the parent state, and a transfer of their allegiance to America. In one instance they were accompanied by an act of lawless violence, connected with the Wesleyan missionary and chapel, at St. Anne's Bay. At night, while the white company of the militia was on guard, the house of the Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe, in which he, his wife, and children resided, was violently attacked by a party armed with fire-arms, who, without the slightest provocation, lodged fourteen bullets within the walls. This occurred in December, 1826, and was brought before the House of Commons in the month of March following by Dr. Lushington. These circumstances had the effect of exciting the suspicions of the negroes that freedom had been granted them by the King, but that it was withheld by their masters, which led to the resolution on the part of some of the slaves in the parishes of St. James and Trelawney, to test the truth of the report by a refusal to work after the Christmas

holidays, except for wages as freemen. Among the leaders and others in this movement were found individuals connected with the Baptist and other churches in the parish of St. James; no sooner however was this known to the missionaries on the spot than they exerted themselves to the utmost to undeceive the misguided multitude. This object it is probable they might have accomplished, but for the measures that were instantly adopted by the authorities. Martial law was proclaimed, and the militia, composed chiefly of the planters in the districts, exasperated to the direst revenge, commenced hostilities. Retaliation was provoked, and the most wanton and horrible cruelties perpetrated by the whites, accompanied by outrages on the Baptist missionaries, and the destruction of the Baptist and Wesleyan chapels in the neighbourhood. These atrocities were sanctioned, and even abetted, with but one or two exceptions, by the magistrates and other local authorities, who at length committed the missionaries to prison on *suspicion* of their having instigated the "rebellion." This suspicion was magnified into a charge, and they were tried for their lives. The vilest and most despicable means which diabolical malice and depraved prejudice could devise were employed to fix the guilt of this charge upon them, but not a single accusation could be substantiated. The principal sufferers in these shameful outrages, whose hardships and indignities were almost indescribable, were Messrs. Gardner, Burchell, Knibb, Abbott, Whitehorn, Baylis, Kingdon, Taylor, and Barlow, Baptists; and Messrs. Bleby and Box, Wesleyans.

But for the high patronage which they enjoyed, it is probable that both the Presbyterian missionaries and the Evangelical clergy would equally have shared in these disgraceful outrages.

"Usually the best friends of mankind," says a quaint writer, "those who most heartily wish the peace and prosperity of the world, and most earnestly strive to promote them, have all the disturbances and disasters happening charged on them by those fiery vixens who really do themselves embroil things, and raise combustions in the world." So in the present case.

Fourteen chapels were destroyed belonging to the Baptist Missionary Society, with private houses and other property, amounting to 23,250*l.** Six chapels

* The following letters which the author, who was then in England, received from his esteemed missionary brethren, the Revs. J. Clarke and H. C. Taylor, who were supplying his church in his absence, will illustrate the spirit by which these calumniated missionaries were actuated, as well as the dangers which surrounded them.

After stating that the rebellion was a contest carried on by wicked men for the perpetuation of slavery, Brother C. continues—"It is consoling to think that God will maintain his cause, and in his own time turn the councils of the wicked into foolishness. Our trust is in him: and daily we appear in his house to present our supplications at his throne of mercy in the name of our adorable Redeemer—and we know that we are regarded. For many weeks past we have kept a regular watch to protect the chapel, as we had good evidence that many wicked men had united in order to pull it down.

"Three persons, not connected with us, came forward and made affidavits, certifying that they had been invited by a Mr.—— to join in this evil work. The case was represented at the Peace Office, and Mr. H. was bound over to keep the peace. But we are far from being secure, as prejudice still runs exceedingly high, and those in power are quite as bad as others.

"What a fearful tale will soon be told you, and is now being told of Jamaica! What will be the consequences we cannot tell. Many a

belonging to the Wesleyans were demolished, with a total loss of 6000*l.* in property. To carry out a project long cherished and threatened for expelling

night have we lain down in your house in Spanish Town, expecting to be aroused before morning to attempt to prevent the destruction of the premises. Blessed be God! all is yet safe; and we trust he will restrain the violence of wicked men, and overrule all past evils for the glory of his own great and holy name."—August 11, 1832.

"Things are still unsettled," says Mr. T.; "the negroes do not fight, but fire places, and retire to the woods and hills. If reports are true, I by no means consider myself safe; and I think it not very unlikely but that one or more of the ministers of religion will be sacrificed. The whites are thirsting for our blood. All is quiet, I am happy to say, on the south side of the island, so far as regards the slaves; but as to the whites, they are striving with all their might to breed disturbances, by pulling down class-houses, threatening the missionaries, and punishing the slaves for praying. I was on Monday had up to the Peace Office. Three affidavits were sworn to against me for seditious preaching, but as the affidavits were contradictory of each other, the object of the parties was defeated. On the following Sabbath one of these informers came again, thinking, probably, I should notice the Peace Office business, but I made no allusion to it whatever, determining, as I have ever done, to aim at winning souls. I therefore chose for my text 'Except ye repent,' &c.

"The chapel was very full; several white people were there whom I never saw before. This day poor Brother Nichols and his wife came from St. Anne's Bay. A set of ruffians entered the chapel there by force on the Friday night about ten o'clock. They beat out the windows, and threw out the benches. Brother N. called out murder, and the depredators ran away.

"Things are now more alarming. You have heard of the destruction of the chapels on the north side, but the Governor issued a Proclamation against it. This destruction of the chapels occurred when martial law had ceased, not by the blacks, but by the whites: who therefore are the rebels now?

"Troopers were about all last night. We go this morning to the Custos to know what is to be done. There is a rumour now abroad of a conspiracy to burn down all the chapels in Kingston and Spanish Town. Our people were guarding ours all last night; the women, especially, are determined to defend it to the last. Several of our missionary brethren, with their wives, have fled hither for refuge."

all the dissenting missionaries from the island, and which it is suspected was the real origin of the insurrection, a Colonial Church Union was formed, and a system of persecution continued, unparalleled in the history of modern times. Meanwhile Mr. Knibb, of the Baptist Missionary Society, and Messrs. Duncan and Barry, of the Wesleyan body, sailed for England, followed by Mr. Burchell, whose united statements and appeals, accompanied and sustained by the evidence furnished by themselves and others to both houses of parliament, on the subject of slavery in general, excited, to a degree hitherto unparalleled, the indignation of the British people, and the thought of ameliorative measures was lost in the determination, that *slavery itself should cease.* Not content with inflicting sufferings almost beyond endurance upon the bodies of his wretched vassals, and consigning them to a premature grave, the monster had now lifted up his palsied hand and attempted to interpose his malignant power between his victims and their Creator, as the only means of perpetuating his own existence. This was to wage war with Omnipotence, and his doom was sealed.

Christians of every denomination, patriots and philanthropists of every rank and name, simultaneously arose and petitioned with united voice and with a firmness and determination not to be resisted or delayed, that liberty, immediate and unconditional, the birthright of every man, should be at once enjoyed by Africans and their descendants, throughout the British dominions, equally with other subjects of the realm.

SECTION III.—The great cause, as it might be supposed, was espoused by the reformed parliament under Earl Grey, which assembled May the 14th, 1833, and was brought forward by Lord Stanley, then Secretary for the Colonies. The result was the substitution of an apprenticeship system during a period of twelve years, afterwards reduced to six years, with a compensation of twenty millions as an indemnity to the planters. This boon was hailed by the slaves and by their friends, both in England and the colonies, with the greatest public demonstrations of joy.

The following is the substance of the Act introduced by Lord Stanley, and which passed the British parliament on this memorable occasion, one of the brightest that stands upon the statute-book of English law and English freedom, the Magna Charta of negro rights:—

"Be it enacted, that all and every the persons who on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in slavery within any such British colony as aforesaid, shall, upon and from and after the said first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes free, and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted; and that the children thereafter born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be free from their birth; and that from and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished and

declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad."

In the meantime the Earl of Belmore, during whose administration these disgraceful outrages occurred, was recalled, and the Earl of Mulgrave succeeded as Governor. By a happy combination of wisdom, firmness, and energy, added to liberal and enlightened views, his Excellency, now the Marquis of Normanby, restored tranquillity to the distracted community, and induced the legislature to accede to the proposals of the parent state. After nearly two years of almost ceaseless effort and annoyance his Excellency relinquished the government, a step to which he was urged by personal and relative affliction. The Marquis of Sligo was now appointed to see this great measure carried into effect, a duty which he nobly performed. And when at length the memorable day arrived on which this boon was to be bestowed, it was welcomed and celebrated throughout the island with high and holy joy—welcomed and celebrated not only for the immediate blessings which followed in its train, but as the dawn of temporal liberty to the world, and the harbinger to the degraded sons of Africa of

> "A liberty
> Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the pow'rs
> Of earth and hell confederate take away,
> Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more—
> The liberty of heart derived from heaven."

Man now ceased to be the property of man. The former slaves were now to labour, not at the caprice of an absolute owner, enforced by the whip of an arbitrary and irresponsible task-master, but by settled rules.

They were now to be under the influence of known and settled laws, administered by special and duly appointed magistrates, on sufficient evidence in open courts—their evidence was now received in a court of justice—they were admitted to a participation of civil privileges with freemen—they could rear their own children, and dispose of their own property: but this was all. They had not yet the right of self-disposal and self-management—not yet the privilege of selecting their own employments, or of choosing their own masters: and, as it is unreasonable to suppose that the faults of years were to be eradicated in a day, or the tyranny of the passions to be crushed in an hour—that the man who had treated the slave as a brute would regard him as a man and a brother from the simple act of manumission, the humane and well-intentioned provisions of the Act were evaded and neutralized by local enactments and by partial and vicious adjudication. While, however, it is confessed that the system was less harsh and revolting than actual slavery in some of its features, it was far from being so in others. It was only a *modification of slavery*—a substitution of half measures for the whole: and hence it not only failed to accomplish the end designed, but in some respects was made an occasion of greater oppression than slavery itself—it was *slavery disguised:* "and disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, slavery, still thou art a bitter draught." During the short period of two years, 60,000 apprentices received, in the aggregate, one-quarter of a million of lashes, and 50,000 other punishments by the tread-wheel, the chain-gang, and other means of legalized torture; so that, instead of a dimi-

nution, there was a frightful addition to the miseries of the negro population, inducing a degree of discontent and exasperation among them never manifested under the previous system; and which, but for the influence exerted by the Governor, the missionaries, and some of the special magistrates, would, in all probability, have broken out into open and general rebellion. It was, in a word, a scheme fraught with greater difficulties in its operation than can be conceived. It was expensive, partial, criminal, and altogether useless—of no avail but for the purposes of dissension, strife, and anarchy—"Nam timor eventus deterioris abest." It was unsatisfactory to all parties, and beneficial to none. In addition to the evils it entailed on those more immediately concerned in its operation, it was a source of the most unparalleled difficulty, labour, and obloquy, to the noble-minded individuals under whose eventful and successive administrations it was carried on.* It was defective as a system abstractedly considered; and it had, in addition, to contend against obstacles inseparable from inveterate custom, and morally insurmountable.

It therefore failed—and failed signally. It was obnoxious to the master—hateful to the slave—and perplexing to the special magistrates. Placed, as these

* "The whipping of females, you were informed by me, officially, was in practice; and I called upon you to make enactments to put an end to conduct so repugnant to humanity, and so contrary to law. So far from passing an Act to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty, you have in no way expressed your disapprobation of it. I communicated to you my opinion, and that of the Secretary of State, of the injustice of cutting off the hair of females in the House of Correction, previous to trial. You have paid no attention to the subject."—Speech of the Marquis of Sligo to the Jamaica House of Assembly.

TREAD-WHEEL.

latter individuals were, almost entirely at the mercy of the planters, few had the moral courage or the moral principle to withstand the consequences of a faithful and conscientious discharge of their duty. Among the few whom no bribes could seduce, and no threats intimidate—some resigned their office in disgust—others sunk beneath the pressure of excessive labour, anxiety, and persecution. Of those that survive, the names of Hill, Palmer, Maddan, Daughtrey, Baynes, Grant, Bourne, and Kent, will be distinguished and cherished by the great mass of the inhabitants to the latest posterity. *Slavery will admit of no modification.* Under these circumstances, representations as to the nature and effects of the Apprenticeship System were soon made by the Baptist Missionaries;* by the philanthropic Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, who personally acquainted themselves with its results; and successively by the noble-minded Governors, the Marquis of Sligo† and Sir Lionel Smith; and truth and justice

* The following is a specimen of the language used towards the missionaries at this period by some of the members of the Honourable House of Assembly. It was used by the Hon. A—— D—— in a debate on a bill to legalize marriages by dissenting ministers.—"The report of a committee appointed to enquire into the working of the Apprenticeship System would that day be presented, by which it would be clearly shown that the evil which now prevailed—that the non-working of the Apprenticeship System, indeed all the mischief of the present day—was to be attributed to the interference of the sectarian preachers; they were a set of lawless miscreants in whom no faith was to be placed, from whom no security could be obtained. They had no reputation to lose, or character to give weight to their evidence in a court of justice."

† The Marquis of Sligo, who is a large proprietor in Jamaica, nobly confirmed his sentiments by liberating all his apprentices before the act of final emancipation was carried, which had great influence on the abandonment of the system.

for the last time stood forth and demanded the fulfilment of their claims. Within the short space of about six months, deputations, varying in number from 140 to 400, assembled in London from different parts of the three kingdoms. Downing-street and Westminster Hall were again besieged; and petitions, signed by upwards of one million of British subjects, in which 450,000 English, 135,000 Scotch, and upwards of 77,000 Irish females—a mighty host, marshalled and led on by the piety, talent, learning, eloquence, and philanthropy of the best portion of the public press*—imperatively demanded the abolition of the System on the ground of a violation of the contract by the planters. For a time the boon was delayed, and the British Lion was provoked to anger: he put forth his might, and the monster Slavery was no more.

Section IV.—At length the advocates of liberty and the champions of the oppressed reaped the glorious reward of their self-denying and philanthropic labours. On the glorious and never-to-be-forgotten 1st of August, 1838, 800,000 African bondmen were made fully and unconditionally free. "An act of legislation the most magnanimous and sublime in the annals of the world, and which will be the glory of England and the admiration of posterity, when her proudest military and naval

* Very valuable assistance was especially given on this occasion in London by 'The Sun,' 'The Globe,' 'The Patriot,' 'The Morning Herald,' and the different religious periodicals, and seconded by a large portion of the provincial press, as well as by that of Ireland and Scotland.

achievements shall have faded from the recollections of mankind;" an event which transpired at the most auspicious period of the history of the world—at a time of the most profound and general peace ever enjoyed since Augustus Cæsar shut the gates of Janus—when the crown of the mightiest empire of the world had just been placed on the youthful brow of VICTORIA, the beloved mistress of a free people.

When a century shall have passed away—when statesmen are forgotten—when reason shall regain her influence over prejudice and interest, and other generations are wondering at the false estimate their forefathers formed of human glory—"on the page of history one deed shall stand out in whole relief—one consenting voice pronounce" that the greatest honour England ever attained was when, with her Sovereign at her head, she proclaimed THE SLAVE IS FREE, and established in practice what even AMERICA recognizes in THEORY: *that all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*

On the evening of the day preceding that which witnessed the actual bestowment of the inestimable boon on the apprentices of Jamaica, the towns and missionary stations throughout the island were crowded with people especially interested in the event, and who, filling the different places of worship, remained in some instances performing different acts of devotion until the day of liberty dawned, when they saluted it with the most joyous acclaim; others, before and after

similar services, dispersed themselves in different directions through the towns and villages singing the national anthem and devotional hymns, occasionally rending the air with their acclamations of "Freedom's come;" "We're free, we're free; our wives and our children are free." On the following day the places of worship were thrown open, and crowded almost to suffocation; in many instances even the whole premises of a missionary establishment were occupied. Sermons were preached applicable to the event, devout thanksgivings to Almighty God at the throne of grace, mingled with songs of praise, ascended up to Heaven from every part of the land. The scenes presented exceeded all description. The whole island exhibited a state of joyous excitement as though miraculously chastened and regulated by the hallowed influences of religion.*

After the services of the day at Spanish Town, which were deeply interesting, the congregation collected in and about the Baptist Chapel, numbering full 7000 souls, were to be addressed by his Excellency the Governor. These, with the children of the schools, which amounted to 2000, accordingly walked in procession to the square opposite the Government House, headed by their pastor, displaying flags and banners, which bore a variety of interesting inscriptions. Although joy brightened every countenance, the procession moved on with all the apparent solemnity of a fune-

* Even the irreligious part of the community on this memorable occasion seemed inspired with religious feeling, and flocked in crowds to the House of God.

EMANCIPATION 1er AUGUST 1834.

ral, and in a few minutes after it made its appearance, his Excellency the Governor, surrounded by the bishop, his honour the Chief Justice, and other high official functionaries, addressed the immense mass of apprentices thus congregated, in a speech characterized by much simplicity, affection, and energy. During the delivery of the speech, his Excellency was greeted by reiterated and enthusiastic cheering, being regarded by the people as their friend and benefactor. After about an hour, the mass having given three cheers for the Queen and three for Sir Lionel, followed their pastor to the Baptist mission premises, cheering him in the most enthusiastic manner.

Arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of the chapel, the multitude surrounded him, grasped him in their arms, and bore him, in the midst of shouts and caresses, into his house. The enthusiasm of the multitude being now wound up to the highest pitch, they declared themselves unwilling to separate without greeting the different flags. The flags and banners were accordingly unfurled, and for nearly an hour the air rang with the shouts of exultation that were thus poured forth from thousands of joyous hearts.

The school-children had remained behind to sing several airs before the Government house, and just as the mass were cheering the last banner, upon which was inscribed in large capitals, "We are free! we are free! our wives and our children are free!" they all entered, and, adding their shrill voices to the rest, raised a shout that seemed to rend the air. Over the two principal entrances to the chapel were three

triumphal arches, decorated with leaves and flowers, and crowned with flags, bearing the several inscriptions of "Freedom's come," "Slavery is no more," "Thy chains are broken, Africa is free;" while in addition to these, and the flags and banners borne by the procession, one was seen waving from the cupola of the metropolitan school-rooms,* bearing "the 1st of August, 1838," ornamented by a painted wreath of laurel. The Bethel flag floated over the chapel, and the Union Jack over the minister's house, which is situated in the middle of the two.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Teacher of the Sunday-School, with Union Jack.
Master of Metropolitan Day-School—Mr. Kirby.
Superintendent of Sabbath-School—William Groom, Esq.
Children and Teachers,
bearing at regular intervals flags and banners with the subjoined devices,
"Education, social order, and religion."
"Wisdom and knowledge the stability of the times."
"Knowledge is power."
"Peace, industry, and commerce."
"Freedom's bright day hath dawned at last."
The Pastor.
Deacons of the Church.
Two silk flags—"Glory to God," "The slave is free."
Singers.
Two silk flags—"Victoria," "Sir Lionel Smith."
Mass of about 500 persons.
Large banner borne by four—"1st August, 1838."
Mass of about 500.
Two silk flags—"Earl of Mulgrave," "Marquis of Sligo."
Mass of about 500.
Three silk flags—"Sturge," "Brougham," "Liberty."
Mass of about 500.

Flags with the following inscriptions were distri-

* Connected with the Mission premises.

buted variously throughout the remaining part of the procession :—

1. "Am I not a man and a brother?"
2. "The day of our freedom."
3. "England, land of liberty, of light, of life."
4. "Ethiopia bends her knee to God and gives him glory."
5. "Freedom shall henceforth for ever be enjoyed throughout the British empire."
6. "Equal rights and privileges."
7. "Philanthropy, patriotism, and religion, have, under God, achieved for us this glorious triumph."
8. "Emancipation in peace, in harmony, in safety, and acquiescence, on all sides."
9. "Truth, justice, and right have at length prevailed."
10. "Let strife and conflict from these lands be driven,
    And men and masters fill the path to heaven."
11. "May the cause of mercy triumph in both hemispheres."
12. "The 1st of August, 1838, never to be forgotten through all generations."

On the evening of the following day a charitable bazaar was opened at the metropolitan school-rooms, which were most beautifully illuminated and adorned by characteristic transparencies. His Excellency the Governor and suite were present; his honour the Chief Justice and lady, several members of the Council and House of Assembly, several military officers, and most of the respectable and influential inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. "Altogether the number of visitors and persons assembled could not," says a respectable spectator, "have been less than 4000." Several rural fêtes were held on different estates in the same parish in commemoration of the event, attended also in some instances by his Excellency the Governor and suite, and in all cases by proprietors or their representatives, as also by magistrates and other respect-

able portions of the community. Of these, it may not be uninteresting to afford the following specimen which occurred at the Farm Pen, the property of Lord Carrington, and which united the peasantry of that nobleman and Lord Seaford.

From previous reports, and the general belief that his Excellency the Governor and suite would honour the entertainment with their presence, considerable interest was created throughout the neighbourhood. As soon as his Excellency and aide-de-camp arrived within a few hundred yards of the scene of conviviality, his Excellency's horses were instantaneously detached from the carriage, and replaced by some of the most athletic young men of the two properties, who drew it along at full speed, amidst the waving of banners and the deafening cheers of the people. His Excellency was then conducted to a kind of rustic saloon prepared for the occasion, where he was received by the Honourable Joseph Gordon, the attorney of the estate. The tables were stretched along a beautiful lawn between the great house and the negro village, and were enclosed in their whole extent, which could not have been less than 200 feet, by a beautiful and highly-finished fabric of evergreens, adorned with chaplets and festoons of flowers. The exterior presented to the eye, at a distance, the appearance of a spacious arcade in the Gothic style—the graceful cocoa-nut branch tastefully woven, forming the numerous arches and columns. The inside was fitted up in a style still more chaste and elegant, being, in addition to the ornaments culled from Nature's garden, supplied with

various articles of household furniture, and adorned with flags of different colours, on which were inscribed the names of the illustrious living characters who, under God, had achieved the glorious triumph they were met to celebrate.

Everything being announced as ready, the company, numbering about 300, advanced to the repast. The minister then invoked the divine blessing upon it in the verse beginning with—

"Be present at our table, Lord,"

which was sung by the assembly with such a becoming seriousness as gave a tone to the whole proceedings of the evening. The Honourable Joseph Gordon presided. On his right was seated his Excellency the Governor. The other guests were variously distributed around, among whom appeared several ladies and gentlemen of the first respectability.

The tables were very tastefully laid out, the necessary apparatus having been kindly lent by different respectable inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and the viands, which were partially supplied in the same manner, were abundant and of excellent quality. The appetite at length subdued, the whole company rose and gave thanks by singing—

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

Although scarcely any intoxicating drinks were used, it was natural on such an occasion that toasts should be given. The president accordingly gave the health of Her Majesty the Queen; this was responded to with rapturous applause, and was succeeded by a

verse of the national anthem, which was sung with great effect. The health of Sir Lionel Smith, as the representative of Her Majesty, followed, and the words, "to the health of our excellent Governor" were no sooner pronounced than one simultaneous and enthusiastic shout of applause burst forth from the assembled multitude. The choir again struck up—

"Joy, for every yoke is broken,
And the oppressed all go free,
Let us hail it as a token
That our much loved land may be
Blessed of the Lord most high,
Ruler of the earth and sky.

"In blest communion may we all
Keep holy freedom's festival
Let shades of difference be forgot,
Parties and sects remembered not,
While Christians all with joy agree
To keep the Negro Jubilee."

His Excellency returned thanks in a very excellent and appropriate speech, expressing his confident hope of the future prosperity of the country as the result of the late glorious event, and exhorting both masters and servants to the cultivation of feelings of mutual confidence and good will, as the best means of securing it. It would convey but an inadequate idea of the reality to say that the advice was appreciated. It was responded to by acclamation, amidst which his Excellency retired, highly gratified with everything he had heard and seen.

The late noble-minded and beloved Governors, the Earl of Mulgrave and the Marquis of Sligo, were remembered with equal honour and enthusiasm.

The head man on the property next arose, and in a respectful manner requested that he might be allowed to propose a toast, adding that he was sure it would meet with the warmest approbation of all present: it was the health, long life, and happiness, both in time and eternity, of Lords Carrington and Seaford, with that also of their esteemed and liberal-minded attorney, Joseph Gordon, Esq., a proposition that was loudly greeted, as was also Mr. Gordon's acknowledgment, both on behalf of the two noble Lords and himself. The scene was overpowering, and could not fail to produce a salutary effect on all present.

This was closed by singing to the tune "America"—

"O Lord, upon Jamaica shine
With beams of sovereign grace,
Reveal thy power through all our coasts,
And show thy smiling face;

Amidst this isle exalted high
Do thou our glory stand,
And like a wall of guardian fire
Surround our favoured land."

Feelings of esteem and gratitude were expressed towards the minister and his family present on the occasion, in which the honourable president united, as also to the special magistrates of the district, who severally expressed their obligations in return. Cheers were now given for Lord Mulgrave, for Lord Sligo, for Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Brougham, and Sturge; for the ladies of Great Britain and Ireland; for the missionaries and other philanthropists in Jamaica, and for the friends of liberty throughout the world. The meeting then separated, each individual

going peacefully and joyfully to his home. This was nearly the last of the entertainments held in commemoration of this glorious event, and it may not be improper, therefore, to follow the account with a few observations.

The conduct of the newly emancipated peasantry throughout the island would have done credit to Christians of the most civilized country in the world. At none of their repasts was there anything Bacchanalian. Their behaviour was modest, unassuming, and decorous in a high degree. There was no crowding, no vulgar familiarity; all were as courteous, civil, and obliging to each other as members of one harmonious family; all were also clean and neat in their persons and attire. There was no dancing, no noisy mirth, no carousing, no gambling, or any of the rude pastimes and sports which often disgrace seasons of public rejoicing in England; neither did there seem to be the least desire on the part of the people so to commemorate the event. All expressed their sense of the obligations under which they were laid to a faithful and conscientious discharge of the duties they owed to their masters and to one another, as well as to the civil authorities. Ministers of religion were earnestly invited to preside, or to direct them in all their arrangements. God was universally recognised as the giver of the bounties enjoyed, and from first to last He was regarded as the *Great Author* of their deliverance from bondage. Their conduct was admitted by every respectable beholder, and even by those who were not influenced by the best of motives in mingling

with the spectators, as unexceptionable. The masters, who in many cases were present, frankly recognised the new-born liberty of their former dependents, and congratulated them on the boon they had received, while both expressed their desires that all past differences and wrongs might be forgiven. Harmony and cheerfulness smiled on every countenance, and the demon of discord for a season disappeared. On some of the properties where these commemorative festivals were held, the people, with a few individual exceptions, went to work on the *following day*, while many of them presented their first week of free labour as an offering of good will to their masters.

Thus, the period from which the worst consequences were apprehended passed away in peace, in harmony, and in safety. Not a *single instance* of violence or insubordination, of serious disagreement or of intemperance, so far as could be ascertained, occurred in any part of the island.

Nor was there any interruption, on the part of the labourers, to the ordinary cultivation or business. Commended for their past behaviour, encouraged and urged by ministers of all denominations to continue to exemplify their fitness for the boon they had received, as well as to facilitate the progress of emancipation in America, in the islands that surrounded them, and throughout the world, by a continuation of industrial habits for reasonable wages, the greater part appeared on the different properties on the Monday of the following week. Most of the estates, from the *increased* labour that had been ex-

pended on them previously, and which had been obtained at a high price from the apprentice in his own time to the neglect of his own provision-grounds, were not in immediate need of labourers; and thus, to the astonishment of the newly-made freemen, their offers of service were in some cases rejected, and they themselves treated with indifference or *hauteur*. It soon became evident that a general determination had been formed to take advantage of the feelings and dispositions thus displayed, and render them available to an uncontrollable lust of avarice and power. In a word, freedom was sought to be made more abundantly compensative than slavery; and now was the time to make the attempt. For this purpose the most oppressive and impolitic expedients were adopted. In many cases the domestic stock of the peasantry, their provision-grounds, and even their houses, were destroyed. In others, and which was general, demands were made for rent of houses and grounds from every inmate of a family, and to an extent which more than equalled in a given time the amount of wages received by them conjointly—exactions which would have produced a larger revenue to the proprietor than the agricultural products of his estate. These and similar acts of oppression were justly but temperately resisted. Bickerings and heartburnings were the result. The planters persisted in their design; and at length multitudes of the labourers were compelled to sacrifice their feelings of attachment to their domiciles, and to establish themselves in their own freeholds. HENCE, and from no *other cause*, arose those reports of insolence and idle-

ness which were so widely and perseveringly circulated against the peasantry. It is delightful to add that the injustice and impolicy of such conduct have now become generally manifest; so that the causes of mutual dissatisfaction are now to a considerable degree extinct. There are, however, some laws, as already noticed, which press unfairly on the great mass of the people; but it is hoped that, from motives of good policy as well as from good feeling, they will be speedily annulled. In other respects, equal right and liberty are enjoyed; and, with these privileges, peace, prosperity, and happiness.

"Great was the boon, my country, when you gave
To man his birthright, freedom to the slave,
Rights to the wronged, and to the glorious rolls
Of British citizens a million souls—
Their growing minds from slavery's sink to lift,
And make them worthy of the God-like gift."

CHAPTER XII.

INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER OF THE BLACK PEOPLE UNDER SLAVERY.

Ignorance of Arts and Sciences—Of Reading, Arithmetic, Mechanical Arts, Civil Polity—Alleged Deficiency of Mental Capacity—Establishment and Operation of Schools—The Negro under Cultivation and Freedom—Notions of his Natural Inferiority disproved—Proposal for the establishment of a College—The great importance and advantages of such an Institution—Decline of Schools—Appeal for these objects to the British Public.

THE best informed among the slaves imported into Jamaica were the Mandingoes, and those of neighbouring nations from the banks of the Senegal. Some of these, especially the chiefs and princes of the tribes, displayed some acquaintance with Arabic, but their knowledge of the language generally was very superficial. Very few had any idea of the art of computation by figures, nor did the great bulk of them display any acquaintance with the simplest form of lettered knowledge. According to a tradition current among them, they were under an impression that they were prohibited the knowledge of letters by a decree of the Almighty—a tradition which it is probable originated with their oppressors for purposes by no means difficult to imagine.

They believed that at the creation of the world there were both a *white* and a *black* progenitor, and that the black was originally the favourite. To try their dispositions, the Almighty let down two boxes from

Heaven, of unequal dimensions, of which the black man had the preference of choice. Influenced by his propensity to greediness, he chose the largest, and the smaller one consequently fell to the share of the white. "Buckra box," the black people are represented as saying, "was full up wid pen, paper, and whip, and negers, wid hoe and bill, and hoe and bill for neger to dis day."

Previous to the year 1823 there were not more than one or two schools in the whole island expressly for the instruction of the black population. Hence they were generally ignorant of the art of reading; while their improvement was universally opposed by the planters as inimical to the future peace and prosperity of the island.

It is generally admitted that they were not deficient in taste or ability for music, but their songs, which were usually impromptu, were destitute of poetry or poetic images. On estates, or in particular districts, there were usually found one or more males or females, who, resembling the improvisatori or extempore bards of Italy and ancient Britain, composed lines and sung them on their festive occasions. These ballads had usually a ludicrous reference to the white people, and were generally suggested by some recent occurrence:*—

* "Sangaree kill de captain,
O dear, he must die;
New rum kill de sailor,
O dear, he must die;
Hard work kill de neger,
O dear, he must die.
La, la, la, la," &c.

The

They were alike ignorant of any method for computing the periods of time. The only means by which any of them ascertained, with any degree of certainty, the date of particular events, was by a kind of artificial memory, such as a recurrence to remarkable seasons of the year, to earthquakes, and hurricanes. Some of them calculated by the revolutions of the moon, their Christmas carnivals, or the arrivals and departures of Governors. Hence but few could fix any event nearer than twelve months from the period of its occurrence; and scarcely any of them were acquainted with their own age, the age of their children, or that of their domestic animals. With the exception of the Aradas, and one or two other tribes from the Gold Coast, they were almost wholly unacquainted with the mechanical arts and manufactures, while of civil polity or the use of civil institutions they were equally ignorant. Instances, indeed, were common in which interruptions of social peace and petty misdemeanors arising among themselves were decided by the head men on the property, or in the neighbourhood where they occurred; but their decisions were for the most part arbitrary, selfish, and vindictive, being usually given either under the influence of bribery, favour, or intemperance. For this latter purpose, intoxicating drinks were frequently

The following is frequently sung in the streets:—

"One, two, tree,
All de same;
Black, white, brown,
All de same,
All de same.
One, two, tree," &c.

supplied to them before they proceeded to adjudicate, from a superstitious notion that intoxication was absolutely essential to a proper understanding and disposal of the case. Enthralled and bowed down by a system that reduced them to the level of the brute, and at the same time carefully excluded by their superiors from every means of improvement, they were altogether destitute of taste and genius. Unallured by the enjoyments of civilized society and by whatever is sublime and beautiful in natural scenery;—the dwarfs of the rational world, their intellect rising only to a confused notion and imperfect idea of the general objects of human knowledge;—their whole thoughts, indeed, confined within the range of their daily employments and the wants of savage life. By some writers they have been described as an inferior species of the human family incapable of advancing beyond a certain point in the acquisition of knowledge—the connecting link between the animal and intellectual economies, affiliated to the ourang-outang, and, like that animal, actuated not by reason but by instinct. Hence they were said to be unable to combine ideas, to compare, to argue, to judge, or to do anything comparable with the performances of perfect men. In pursuance of the infamous theory which sought their affinity with the monsters of the woods, they are represented by a Jamaica historian and planter,* unable to place a table square in a room from a defect of vision similar to that of an ourang-outang. "I have known them fail in this," says he, "after numberless endeavours, and it is the

* Long.

same in other things, so that such as are bred carpenters and bricklayers are often unable, after many tedious and repeated trials with the rule and plumb-line, to do a piece of work straight which an apprentice boy in England would perform with one glance of his eye." Hume, in his observations on the native Africans, says, "They are inferior to the rest of the species, and utterly incapable of the higher attainments of the mind."

Montesquieu pronounced them not human beings, but as occupying an intermediate rank below the whites, and destined by their Creator to be the slaves of their superiors. An attempt has been made to trace the affiliation of some of the tribes, particularly the Angolas, the Whydahs, and the inhabitants of Benguela, with the ourang-outang, and a conclusion has been drawn to the advantage of the latter in the supposition of their possessing the same means of improvement. Such was the state, and such the opinions entertained of these poor degraded beings by their lordly taskmasters, as well as by the disciples of a proud and false philosophy, and hence the brutal treatment to which they were doomed and the degrading epithets by which they were designated. It now remains to exhibit the contrast between their past and present intellectual condition, and thus assert for them that rank in the scale of being which they are destined by nature and Providence to attain.

It has been stated that but few instances have occurred in which the negroes imported into Jamaica displayed any acquaintance with the arts and sciences. Nor, owing to a want of the necessary opportunities,

are many to be found at the present day who possess anything like an acquaintance with these branches of knowledge. It is otherwise, however, with regard to elementary education. Such has been the progress of school instruction, within the last few years especially, that thousands of adults are now enjoying its advantages.

By the published reports of 1841, there were belonging to different denominations of Christians throughout the island, as nearly as it could be ascertained from the imperfect data supplied, about 186 day-schools, 100 Sabbath-schools, and 20 or 30 evening-schools; the latter chiefly for the instruction of adults.

Of the day-schools, 48 are said to have been connected with the National Church, 22 with the Mico Charity, 25 with the Wesleyan, 61 with the Baptist, 14 with the Church, and 16 with the London Missionary Societies, independently of those belonging to the Moravians and Presbyterians, the statistics of which the writer has not been able to procure. These altogether are reported to contain about 62,240 scholars; but, deducting for irregularity of attendance, for Sabbath-scholars included in the lists of day-schools, for the number of schools formerly connected with the National Church and Mico Charity which have been since closed, the present number is estimated at about 30,000.

As an evidence of the proficiency that is being made by these children of Ethiopia in the various branches of learning taught in these institutions, it is only necessary to introduce one or two extracts from reports which have been published on the spot by disinterested individuals, who have attended examinations of the

scholars. The extracts will refer to the Metropolitan schools in Spanish Town,* established in 1825, as their operations are personally known to the writer, but they may be adduced as specimens of all the well-regulated schools on the island. Says a gentleman in 1830, but five years after their establishment, "I witnessed the examination of the children in the lower classes with peculiar pleasure and interest; but the elder children in the upper classes truly filled my mind with wonder and admiration. After reading portions of the Holy Scriptures and the 'History of Greece,' they were very minutely interrogated on those portions, and their answers were so correct that I could scarcely help blushing at my own ignorance. Their facility in arithmetic was surprising—sums in Reduction, Proportion, Practice, Fellowship, and Vulgar Fractions, were worked with such rapidity, that the examiner could scarcely keep pace with them. In the sciences of geography and astronomy the whole school appeared enthusiastic; the whole world, as it were in a moment, was divided into continents, islands, oceans, seas, and lakes: zones, longitude and latitude, the twelve signs of the zodiac, motions of the earth and its distance from the sun, were all described with an expertness and accuracy I could scarcely have believed. Upon the whole, it far surpassed all that I ever saw in England." These, it will be remembered, were children of negroes, or their immediate descendants, very few of whom five years before had seen a book, and who in

* These schools, during eleven years, have been supported by chiefly the London Central Negro's Friend Society.

METROPOLITAN SCHOOL ROOMS

their habits and manners differed but little from those in a state of savage nature.

Similar testimony was borne by the Honourable Alexander Bravo, a large proprietor, who presided at an examination of the same schools in 1839.

"The performances of the infant class were indeed astonishing. In spelling, reading, writing,* recitation, grammar, and natural philosophy, in which some mere children had actually made proficiency, marks of improvement were exhibited in every class; the same in arithmetic. The children were many of them very proficient in geography and the use of the globes, but I must not restrain the expression of my admiration as well as surprise at the exhibition of the boys in geometry. Their demonstrations were well examined and found perfectly correct; and I will not withhold the pleasing and amusing fact, that one of the scholars had shown his own ingenuity, as well as the practical utility of the science, in the construction, from wood, of a most ingenious pair of compasses, which had been imitated and perceptibly improved upon by the other scholars of the class." To these testimonies the writer cannot forbear adding that of another impartial witness, who was present at the examination of the same schools in 1842, and who signs himself "A Stranger in Jamaica." At this meeting the Honourable Judge Bernard presided, and Sir Joseph de Courcey Laffan, one of the directors of the African Civilization Society, with many other gentlemen of respectability, attended as deeply interested spectators. This testimony is the more import-

* For specimens of writing see next page.

Susannah Kenyon

Matilda Anderson

Sarah Cooper

John Paer

Joseph L. Fuller

William Brammer

John Thomas King

[Autographs of Slave Scholars.]

ant, as the most successful competitors on the occasion were two black boys, one the son of an African in the army, and the other the son of a recently emancipated slave.* After referring with great satisfaction to the progress of the younger classes, he continues:—"The elder classes also read in Scripture with great satisfaction to the visitors. They were then examined in ciphering, which task they performed correctly, as the solutions to their questions were exhibited to the visitors to avoid even the shadow of fallacy. Some of the elder boys answered geometrical questions with great precision, showing that they must have understood the subject well. I was equally amused with the elocutive part of the examination. Some of the children had committed long pieces to memory for recitation. The visitors expressed their admiration of the exhibitions by continued demonstrations of applause." In addition to these acquisitions they possessed also a considerable knowledge of civil and sacred geography, of biblical antiquities, and of the emblems, figures, parables, types, and most remarkable passages and chapters of the Bible. There was scarcely one who, besides his other acquisitions, was not able to recite chapters of the Bible and hymns from memory. On a former occasion one little boy repeated two hundred and thirty-eight hymns and three chapters, comprising sixty-six verses, almost without mistake or hesitation. A little girl recited, with equal facility and correctness, forty-nine hymns and eight chapters of the Bible, the chapters containing two hundred and forty verses. The

* Alexander Fuller, now gone as a missionary to Africa.

two boys, to whom allusion has been made, and who attracted the particular notice of Sir Joseph Laffan, exhibited specimens of beautiful penmanship and maps of their own construction.

A similar testimony to the astonishing proficiency of many of the negro children in the various branches of useful knowledge, has been borne by their Excellencies Sir Lionel Smith and Sir Charles Metcalfe, who have honoured the schools with their presence at the annual examination of the scholars.

The two school-mistresses and the master, superintendents of the different departments of these schools, were once *slaves*, and acquired all the knowledge they possessed in the institution over which they now so ably preside. By the operations of the normal schools, of which there are several, a considerable number of native young men and women have been qualified for the important situation of teachers, and in most cases are conducting the schools under their charge as efficiently as masters and mistresses from Europe.

In addition to what has been said of the proficiency of the negroes in the various branches of scholastic knowledge, their attainments in music and psalmody must not be omitted. Most of them are possessed of fine voices, and are by no means deficient in taste. The singing at many of the places of religious worship, where the choir is composed almost entirely of blacks and their descendants, is but very little inferior to that at places of worship in England; and, were the same advantages enjoyed by the one class as by the other, not the slightest difference would be discernible. Hun-

dreds of them are self-taught proficients in the use of the various European instruments of music. Many can play beautifully on the violin, the clarionet, and the flute, without a knowledge of notes; and when regularly instructed in the science are by no means inferior in skill and execution to the whites. The band of the 2nd West India Regiment, now in Spanish Town, is composed almost entirely of liberated or recaptured Africans from Spanish and Portuguese slave-ships, and their performances will bear a comparison with those of any other regimental band in her Majesty's service.

Any imputation of ignorance of the mechanic arts and manufactures now cast upon the black population of Jamaica would only excite the ridicule or contempt of those who are personally acquainted with them. There are now to be found amongst the black population throughout the country, comprehending individuals of each tribe, operatives, mechanics, and masons, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, sailors, pilots; and it may be added, from their knowledge of the properties of medicinal herbs, and their skill in applying them to different disorders, veterinary surgeons and medical men; whilst in the towns are also shoemakers, cabinet-makers, carvers and gilders, watchmakers, jewellers, &c. &c., who manifest as much skill, and perform their work with as much accuracy and taste, as workmen of the same description in England. Most of the houses and public buildings—churches, chapels, court-houses—were built chiefly by slaves; and to the slaves equally with the free blacks and people of colour have the white inhabitants been in-

debted, not only for their common works of art, but for nearly every article of local manufacture.

So far from being now ignorant of civil polity and of the use of civil institutions, it is questionable whether any people in the world, placed in the same circumstances, possess an equally correct acquaintance with these subjects; whilst the superior style of cottage architecture every where apparent since freedom (when such cottages became their own), their furniture, and the gardens that surround them, are sufficient refutations of the charge of deficiency of taste for the useful and ornamental. Not less unfounded is the imputation that they are deficient in inventive and imitative genius. Even among the most untutored of the African race these qualities have been sometimes displayed in a degree truly astonishing. They have been manifested not only in the construction and manufacture of articles of domestic use, but also (and that without any previous instruction) in the higher branches of mechanics. Their locks and bolts, together with other contrivances for security and convenience, are a sufficient evidence of the truth of this assertion: to which may be added, their contrivances for cooking, manufacturing sugar of their own production, as well as various other things of domestic utility.

The faculties of wit and imitation in the negro race are also remarkable. Scarcely any foible or peculiarity of gesture or accent is discoverable, in a stranger especially, but it is mimicked to the life, often to the no small amusement of groups of spectators. Instances have frequently occurred in which white men have

seen themselves exhibited as subjects of amusement to the whole fraternity of a negro village, and an instance is recorded in which it afforded a very salutary lesson to the object of ridicule. It was in the case of a drunken planter. Hearing on a certain occasion the sound of considerable merriment in the direction of his negro settlement, curiosity induced him secretly to ascertain the cause, when he beheld a negro personifying his own gestures and habits when in a state of intoxication, amidst the convulsive laughter of the multitudes of men, women, and children gathered around him. The whole scene had such an effect upon him that he never again indulged in similar excesses. Their imitative faculty is equally displayed in the acquisition of trades and arts. Thousands of them are not at all inferior to many of the whites, either in sound sense or general information. In a word, the black skin and the woolly hair constitute the only difference which now exists between multitudes of the emancipated peasantry of Jamaica and the tradesmen and agriculturists of England.

Nor are the intellectual faculties of this calumniated and oppressed people in any respect inferior to the rest of the species; they have simply been suspended from inaction, and the absence of those influences which were necessary to their development. Many of their common adages are as much distinguished by shrewdness and sagacity as the maxims and proverbs of more civilized nations. To convey an impression of covetousness, with reference to any individual, they say, "Him covetous, like star-apple," because that fruit is

distinguished for its tenacity of adhesion to the tree. When they wish to represent duplicity, they say, "Him hab two faces, like star-apple leaf," the leaf of the star-apple tree being of two colours, a bright green above and a buff below. To convey the impression of wisdom, forethought, and peaceableness of disposition, they say, "Softly water run deep." "When man dead grass grow at him door," expressive of the forgetfulness and disregard by which death is succeeded. "Poor man never vex," denoting the humility which is usually the accompaniment of poverty.

Mr. Edwards mentions an instance of shrewdness and sagacity on the part of a negro servant which is not often surpassed. Exhausted by a long journey he had fallen asleep. On being awoke, and told somewhat sharply that his master was angry because "him da call, call, and him keep on sleep, and no heary," he facetiously replied, "Sleep no heb massa."

"Wilberforce," said a negro on one occasion, in the midst of a group of his companions—"Wilberforce—dat good name for true; him good buckra; him want fo make we free; and if him can't get we free no oder way him *will by force*."*

During an examination of a black servant in the Catechism, he was asked by the clergyman what he was made of? "Of mud, massa," was the reply. On

* A negro, having purchased a hat, was observed to take it from his head on the fall of a shower of rain, and to manifest considerable anxiety to preserve it from the wet. On being remonstrated with for his supposed stupidity in thus leaving his head exposed, he wittily observed—"Hat belong to *me*—head belong to *Massa*."

being told he should say, "Of dust," he answered, "No, massa, it no do, no tick togedder."

A negro, when in a state of heathenism, contracted a debt to a considerable amount. Being frequently importuned for payment, he resolved to be christened, and afterwards, on the application being made, replied, with considerable *naïveté*, "Me is new man now; befo me name Quashie, now me Thomas, derefo Thomas no pay Quashie debt."

A gentleman is reported to have said to a Christian negro, "What do you think of the doctrine of election?" He made no reply, but instantly brought five pieces of wood. These he placed on the table, and then taking up two of the five, leaving the other three, he said, "There, massa, dat what we mean by election."

The following anecdote in illustration can scarcely be withheld. It was related to the author by the son of the principal party, as an evidence of the ingratitude and ferocity of the negro character. A white man had often beaten one of his slaves very unmercifully for the most trifling offences; the latter, after a punishment unusually severe, preferred a complaint against him before a bench of magistrates, which had the effect of securing a reprimand by them to the master. Highly provoked with the presumption of the slave for thus daring to expose him in open court, the master meditated the most determined revenge. Some time after, sending the slave into a summer-house situated in a secluded spot in his garden, he resolved to wreak upon him the vengeance he had meditated. Instantly

seizing a large stick, he entered the house, and securing the door, vociferated, "Now, villain, I'll teach you to take me before the magistrates. You try to injure my character, do you—I'll make you pay dear for it, I'll warrant you. Nobody can see me here, and you'll have no witnesses now," at the same time beginning to beat him unmercifully. The slave, being a powerful man, on hearing the latter sentence, immediately seized the weapon, and wresting it from the master's hand, retaliated on him, saying, "If me no hab witness to prosecute massa, massa no heb witness fo prosecute me," and continued the flagellation until the assailant was obliged to cry for mercy, which was shown him by the victorious Quashy, on condition of a solemn pledge by the master that he would never notice the circumstance to his disadvantage—a promise which, from selfish motives, he was induced to preserve inviolate.

The lowest and most unintelligent of the tribes are the Mungolas. Their stupidity, however, has often been more feigned than real; thus, when attracting the gaze of multitudes at their annual carnivals by their grotesque appearance and ridiculous gambols, they have been often known to indulge in the keenest satire and merriment at their own expense, repeating in chorus, "Buckra tink Mungola nigger fool make him tan so." So far from being more deficient in acuteness and discrimination than other men, none can penetrate more deeply than the negro into character, or form an opinion of strangers with greater correctness and precision. The idea of their inability, even

in their most untutored state, to combine ideas and pursue a chain of reasoning is equally erroneous, as is evident from the following defence said to have been made before a bench of justices in one of the country parishes by certain negroes who had run away from their work. The judges on the occasion were two medical men. The complaint having been preferred, the defendants were severally called upon to state their case. The object of the first was to render the character of the accuser odious, to conciliate the feelings of the Court to himself, by drawing a contrast between the cruelty of the overseer and the clemency of the judge, as well as to excite sympathy by a narration of his sufferings.

The second illustrates the hardships of his case, by instituting a comparison between his own lot and that of a woodpecker, and urges, that having been born as free as that bird, the overseer had no more claim to his services than he had to those of the woodpecker. He draws a comparison between the condition of the two, to the advantage of the latter, and ridicules the idea that he was neither to build his own house nor to have any shelter before going to work for the overseer, concluding his defence by a recital of the punishment inflicted on him.

A third had been charged with inattention to poultry committed to her care, owing to which many of them had died. She was required by the overseer to pay for them, and in default of it was to be punished. Indisposed, or unable to pay, and dreading the threatened punishment, she had absconded. It will be observed that she attempts to conciliate the chief

magistrate, by flattering him with her opinion of his medical skill; proves his inability to counteract the designs of Omnipotence, with regard to the death of any of his patients; appeals to him, if under such circumstances he would be justly charged with a want of attention, or required to pay any penalty for the loss of his patients, and hence infers the injustice of the demand made upon her under similar circumstances.

The defence of the two latter only will be given, and that briefly and in their own dialect.

"Massa," said the first of them, addressing the senior judge, "me bin no heb no house, and when me bin cut one bread-nut tree me see how one woodpecker bin build him house in the tree, and me tink say, poor me boy! The woodpecker is better off than me, him hab plenty time for build him house and mind him pickinniny, and when woodpecker da sleep in the mornin, him no fraid of bad busha for flog him because him no turn out before day to do buckra work, and me tink it was berry hard me for live worse than woodpecker, and busha say me lazy, and him will build house for me, and me tell him say, him must look at woodpecker house, so say if busha bin build it, and me ax him why him no make woodpecker cut bread-nuts, and dig cane-holes, so busha flog me till me most dead. Posin you youself handsome somebody like you, blong to him him would flog you till you most dead too."

"Massa," said the other, "me bin fowl-house woman, and the truckies (turkeys) dead na me hand

eberry day, so busha say me must pay for dem. Now, massa doctor, you is cleber person to cure sick somebody, and if dem *can* cure, you will cure dem, but if dem time come for dead, dem must dead, for though massa doctor berry cleber, him can't do more dan God. Same fashion, massa, if da trucky time for dead come, dem must dead. Now, massa doctor, pose neger sick in the hot house, and dem time for dead come, and God make dem dead, it no would be berry hard you for pay cause dem dead? So it berry hard me for pay for de trucky dead, and busha say him will flog me, so me run away."

By such an array of incontrovertible facts, the natural inferiority of the negro in mental capacity and his consequent unsusceptibility of the advantages of culture and instruction are proved to be utterly fallacious. But additional evidence may be afforded as the result of repeated and impartial experiments. In schools, of which the writer has for many years had the direction, both white, coloured, and black children have begun the alphabet and advanced together in the same school for years, their advantages in every respect being equal; and whether it has been owing, on the part of the white pupil, to parental indulgence, or to the influence of climate, or, on the part of the black, to the absence of these causes, or to a more implicit dependence on their own resources, in almost every instance the black and brown children have made the greatest proficiency, and have appeared to the best advantage at public examinations.

One little boy, the son of a Mungola and a Papaw, two of the tribes described by an historian* as almost

> "The lag of human kind
> Nearest to brute of God designed,"

but whose appearance, according to the theories of phrenologists, presented some of the finest indications of mental capacity, could read the New Testament at the age of four years and a half, and answer any ordinary question from it that might be proposed; at the same time giving indications of powers of memory truly surprising. At the age of six years, contin ing to improve in the same degree, he had made considerable proficiency in writing and arithmetic, and given proofs of a rich and rapidly-expanding intellect, which, at such an age, have seldom been surpassed in children of a fairer skin. Nor is this a mere isolated case, but one out of many that might be selected, as the result of nearly twenty years' experience and observation, both in town and country districts. The writer is fully persuaded that our coloured and black fellow-creatures are equally as capable of being conducted through every stage of mental discipline and taught to arrive at as great a height of social and intellectual improvement as has ever been attained by the most privileged Europeans.

The equality of the African race in mental endowments with other nations was abundantly evidenced in former ages; nor, where the like advantages have been enjoyed, are we without similar examples in our

* Long.

own. Among African divines are the names of Clemens, Cyprian, Augustine, and Tertullian; Terence among her poets; Hannibal and Asdrubal in the list of her heroes. Africa is said to have been the parent of the arts and of civilization; to have given to Spain the first principles of refinement and philosophy; and even to Greece and Rome their earliest rudiments of learning and abstract science. "She exhibited the first approach to alphabetical writing by hieroglyphic emblems; the first great works in sculpture, painting, and architecture; and travellers even now find Egypt and Carthage covered with magnificent monuments, erected at an era when the faintest dawn of science had not yet illuminated the regions of Europe"—

> "If glorious structures and immortal deeds
> Enlarge the heart and set our souls on fire,
> My tongue has been too cold in Egypt's praise—
> Queen of the nations, and the boast of times,
> Mother of science, and the house of gods;
> Scarce can I open wide my lab'ring mind
> To comprehend the vast idea big with arts and arms,
> So boundless is its fame." *

Among the distinguished Africans of later times are Friedg, of Vienna, an eminent architect and musician; Hannibal, a colonel in the Russian service, celebrated for his mathematical and scientific attainments; Lislet, of the Isle of France, a member of the French Academy; Arno, a doctor of divinity in the university of Wirtemberg; Ignatius Sancho, of our

* The identity of the negroes with the ancient Egyptians has been disputed, but in the opinion of the writer with no sufficient reason.

own country; and Francis Williams of Spanish Town, Jamaica; the latter of whom was sent to a grammar-school in England by the Duke of Montague, afterwards to Cambridge, and was a good politician, mathematician, and poet. His Latin poem addressed to General Haldane on his assumption of the government of Jamaica was regarded as one of the first productions of the age. There are also the names of Toussaint, Pétion, and others in Hayti; Payanga in South America, with a list too numerous to recount.

In Jamaica at the present time there are many of the descendants of Africa, of whose names delicacy forbids the mention, but who, amidst all the disadvantages with which they have had to struggle, do not suffer by a comparison with the most talented and accomplished Europeans, and who, had they been placed in more favoured circumstances, would have shone among the most distinguished men of any age or country. The sons of Ethiopia have been too long despised by the proud descendants of a more favoured fortune. All classes have agreed together to point at them the finger of scorn, and to hurl towards them the missiles of reproach. The man of science has been too ready to unite with the more flippant accuser; learning and eloquence have descended from their elevation to assist in the mean assault; rank and station have joined in the inglorious crusade; half the civilized world, smitten with the demon of cupidity, had embarked with a loathsome zeal in the unnatural strife. But other times are gradually opening, and the great drama of African fortunes is imperceptibly

shifting. Though her ancient glory lies shrouded behind the cloud of a dim mysterious antiquity, another era is about to dawn upon her race, and a brighter and more steady radiance than that which she has lost to settle upon her history. With the testimony of distant ages, and the evidence afforded by passing events, it will be difficult for any, except they be men possessed of unblushing impudence, to persevere in the ungenerous calumnies repudiated and condemned.

Proofs of the claims of the great coloured family to intellectual and social equality with those of a more favoured skin, will be accumulating with ever augmenting rapidity amidst the new influences of these passing times. The most sceptical will be compelled to yield to the attestation of daily multiplying facts, and the most prejudiced to abandon for very shame their vicious predilections and opinions. The oppressed offspring of Ham will rise at the life-giving call of Christianity, and meekly array themselves in beauty and in power. Acquiring a taste for knowledge and a love of virtue, they will receive into their midst the germ of all vitality and the secret of all strength, and the period is not, it is fondly hoped, so remote but that some promise of it already illumines the horizon. When gently led forward by the humane of every nation they shall, under the *egis* of an overshadowing Providence, run a career of honourable progression in all that adorns and elevates the species, with the boasting inhabitants of more privileged climes.

To realize these anticipations nothing is required but the introduction of a liberal and enlarged scheme of sound education among the more respectable classes

of the coloured and black population. These advantages, now the exclusive inheritance of their brethren of a fairer skin, must be extended to them, and seminaries of learning and of science be raised and consecrated to their use.

It is time that intelligent and aspiring youth, who are distinguished from others only by their outward hue, had the means of assembling in halls of their own, safe from the taunts of folly and of pride. The establishment of a COLLEGE in JAMAICA, after the model of UNIVERSITY COLLEGE in London, by no means an insuperable task, would be of incalculable advantage to the descendants of Africa in the western islands,* and do more than all else to expose to the ridicule it deserves the senseless distinction which it is the study of so many to perpetuate and extend. There are thousands in England who would rejoice to aid in so glorious an effort to elevate the coloured and black population in the scale of learning, and to raise them to their just and proper position among the nations of the earth, while the faintest prospect of so important a step in the path of improvement inspires the breast of the writer with delight. To this desirable object he begs to awaken the attention of gentlemen of colour abroad, and of high and honourable minds at home.†

It would be the most glorious compensation the British public could award the descendants of Africa in

* The importance of such an institution to the civilization of Africa also would be incalculable.

† It is a pleasing fact that a native of St. Domingo lately obtained the highest honours at the University of Paris, and that a negro is now a student in one of the Colleges at Cambridge.

Jamaica (for compensation is still their due), were they to erect, as a monument of emancipation, a seminary of learning of this description, which, independently of benefits of a higher kind, would enable our black and coloured brethren to take their proper rank in the republic of letters, and thus not only wipe away the stigma so long fixed upon them by infidel philosophers, but destroy for ever the pretext which is urged for their degradation. Some years since the writer published addresses on this important subject to the middling and higher classes of the colony, accompanied by a prospectus of such an establishment, which excited considerable attention and sympathy.

The object, however, was considered impracticable, unaided by the Christian public in England. Engaged as that public was in endeavouring to abolish slavery, pecuniary aid from them could scarcely be expected, and the purpose was abandoned. The great struggle with slavery having at length so successfully terminated, and the necessity for such an institution having greatly increased, it is now especially desirable that the plan should be carried into operation. To inform the friends of the African race more particularly of its nature and object, and to stimulate them to aid the establishment of it, particulars are given in the Appendix.

"What," says the late Dr. Mason Good, alluding to the progress of the arts and sciences in Africa, "produced the difference we now behold? What has kept the Bambareens,* like the Chinese, nearly in a station-

* "The kingdom of Bambarra, of which Timbuctoo is the capital, it is supposed, was as completely established and flourished in Cæsar's time as at the present moment."

ary state for, perhaps, upwards of two thousand years, and has enabled the rude and painted Britons to become the first people in the world, the most renowned for arts and for arms, for the best virtues of the heart, and the best faculties of the understanding? Not a difference in the colour of the skin; but, first, the peculiar favour of the Almighty; next, a political constitution which was sighed for, and in some degree prefigured, by Plato and Tully, but regarded as a masterpiece beyond the power of human accomplishment; and, lastly, a fond and fostering cultivation of science in every ramification and department."*

Numerous as are the common schools in Jamaica, and efficient as they have been in accomplishing the objects for which they have been established, it cannot be forgotten that a vast amount of ignorance yet remains. It is estimated that full one-half of the population are yet without the means of instruction: a reflection which becomes the more painful from the circumstance that, during the last two years, school operations, instead of increasing, have greatly diminished throughout the island from want of funds.†

* Jamaica Almanac.

† The subjoined official document, while it will sustain the representation here made of the late decrease in the number of schools, will, at the same time, show the progressive advancement of education, and its occasional interruptions, from the year 1800 nearly to the present time:—

"In 1800, the children taught in all the schools in Kingston, including Woolmer's, which was then the only public school, amounted to 315. They increased gradually, but slowly, till 1831, when the numbers were 4088. In 1832 they decreased to 3738. In 1836 they amounted to 7707; in 1837 to 8753; and in 1842 the numbers decreased, as already stated, to 6525."—Morning Journal, Feb. 9, 1843.

The greatest calamity at this crisis of the history of Freedom, next to that of the diminution of the public means and ordinances of religion, would be the decrease of school instruction; and the present chapter cannot be concluded without presenting an earnest appeal to the Christian public to continue and increase their efforts, both for the support and extension of these institutions, until, freed from the difficulties attendant on the establishment of new settlements, added to a better appreciation of the advantages of education, parents will be able and willing to support them, independently of foreign aid.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

Negro Villages in Time of Slavery—Houses—Dress of Slaves—Personal and Domestic Habits—Licentiousness—Polygamy—Marriage—Treatment of Females—Indolence—Improvement in all these Respects—Opening of a new Township under Freedom—Number of new Settlements established—Growing Comfort and Prosperity of the Country—Evidences of these results.

THE negro villages were, in general, situated amongst groves of fruit-trees, presenting to the eye at a distance, especially in the full blaze of the sun, an appearance very far from forbidding; but on a nearer approach they were unsightly, and, owing to the offensive effluvia arising from quantities of decayed vegetable matter, far from healthy. The houses were thrown together without any pretence to order or arrangement; and, with a few exceptions, were wretched habitations. They consisted of posts put into the ground at the distance of about two feet asunder; the intermediate space being closed up with wattle, daubed over on the inside with mud. In some instances they were divided into two or three apartments, but thousands consisted of one room only. This served the whole of the family for all domestic uses. At night all huddled promiscuously round a fire kindled in its centre; and with scarcely any other covering than

their scanty and well-worn daily apparel, they sought the refreshment and repose necessary for a renewal of their daily toil. A few wooden bowls or calabashes, a water-jar, a wooden mortar for pounding their Indian corn, and an iron pot for boiling the farrago of vegetable ingredients which composed their daily meal, comprised almost all their furniture. The beds used by the more decent and civilized were wooden frames, with a mat of rough material, raised about a foot from the earthen floor, and their covering a blanket. A few cottages might exhibit a somewhat nearer approach to the customs of civilized society; but these were exceptions to the general rule. Each house was surrounded by a piece of garden-ground, and the village, in general, was intersected by narrow, straggling, and dirty lanes.

The dress of the males consisted principally of a coarse cap or hat, and a pair of Osnaburgh trousers, or a shirt of the same material; that of the females of a handkerchief tied in a turban-like manner round the head, an Osnaburgh under-garment, and a coarse blue baize petticoat. Shoes or stockings constituted no part of their apparel, except on very particular occasions.

So little did they respect the decencies of life, and so little were these observed towards them by their superiors, that boys and girls of seven or eight years of age were accustomed to work together, or to roam at large, entirely destitute of covering. In this state it was not uncommon for them to be employed as domestic servants. Nor was it unusua for both sexes at thirteen years of age, and in stature almost men and

women, to wait at table, at parties composed of white ladies and gentlemen, with no other covering than a long shirt, or a loose habit of a similar description.

Multitudes were exceedingly filthy in their persons. Some were particular in their diet, and scrupulously clean in the process of its preparation; but with others cane-rats, cats, putrid fish, and even reptiles and animals in a state of decomposition, were their common food.*

The sanctities of marriage were almost unknown; there was no such thing, indeed, as legitimate marriage among the slaves. This sacred institute was ridiculed by the negroes, and regarded as inimical to their happiness. Under such circumstances the state of society can be easily conceived. Licentiousness the most degraded and unrestrained was the order of the day. Every estate on the island—every negro hut was a common brothel: every female a prostitute, and every man a libertine. Many aged individuals have frequently assured the writer that among the female slaves there were none who had not sacrificed all pretensions to virtue before they had attained their fourteenth year; whilst hundreds were known to have become mothers before they had even entered upon their teens. Polygamy was also common. So far as an agreement between themselves was concerned, they may be said to have formed a matrimonial alliance; but their affection was liable to frequent interruptions, and divorces were consequently of common occurrence; whilst the manner in which the ceremony attending the

* Rats were a common article of commerce in the public markets.

latter was performed, was not a little singular, and far from insignificant. On such occasions they usually took a cotta, a circular pad formed of the plantain-leaf, and, dividing it, each of the party took half. Regarding the circle as a symbol of Eternity, and the ring of perpetual love and fidelity, it was a ceremony that certainly did not inaptly express their eternal disunion. Like the inhabitants of all uncivilized nations, the men treated the women as inferior in the scale of being to themselves, exercising over those who composed their respective harems a kind of petty sovereignty. The women usually cooked the food of their acknowledged lords, waited upon them with all the obsequiousness of devoted servants, and assisted them in the cultivation of their grounds, and the sale of their produce. Sometimes this assumed superiority degenerated into the most vexatious tyranny; the consequences of which were often terrible in the display of furious and vindictive passions, which not unfrequently led to a dissolution of the whole relative connection. Their social condition was therefore deplorable. Unameliorated by any firm domestic ties, their homes, if such they could be called, were embittered by all the dark passions of the fallen heart—by "hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, envying, revelling, and such like."

The indolence of the negro race has ever been proverbial: hence the necessity, as their enemies have argued, of the frequent application of the whip, and various other modes of legalized torture, as a stimulus to labour. "I have seen some," says Mr. Long, "so exquisitely indolent, that they have contracted very bad ulcers on their feet, by suffering multitudes of

chigoes to nestle and generate there, rather than give themselves the trouble of picking them out." The general *idleness* of the people is usually assigned as the cause of most of the punishments inflicted upon them during slavery; and, to a considerable degree, the representation is correct. Let it, however, be remembered that, under the circumstances in which they were then placed, they had not a single stimulus to industry.

From this revolting picture we turn with pleasure to the contrast as exhibited in the progress of the last twenty years. There is not generally so great an improvement in the size, structure, and interior arrangement of the cottages upon *estates* as might have been expected, but in those which form the *new villages* that have been established throughout the island since the abolition of slavery, the difference is striking. Most of these are in all respects equal, and some of them superior, to the tenancies of labourers in the rural districts of England. They vary in size with the number of the family. In general they are from 20 to 30 feet in length, and from 14 to 16 in breadth. They are either neatly thatched, or shingled with pieces of hard wood hewn somewhat in the shape of slates. Some are built of stone or wood; but the generality are an improvement on those on estates, being plastered also on the outside, and white-washed. Many are ornamented with a portico in front to screen the sitting-apartment from the sun and rain: while, for the admission of light and air, as well as to add to their appearance, all of them exhibit either shutters or jealousies, painted green, or small glass windows. There is usually

a sleeping-apartment at each end, and a sitting-room in the centre. The floors are in most instances terraced, although boarded ones for sleeping-rooms are becoming common. Many of the latter contain good mahogany bedsteads, a wash-hand stand, a looking-glass, and chairs. The middle apartment is usually furnished with a sideboard, displaying sundry articles of crockery-ware, some decent-looking chairs, and not unfrequently with a few broad-sheets of the Tract Society hung round the walls in neat frames of cedar. For cooking food, and other domestic purposes, a little room or two is erected at the back of the cottage, where are also arranged the various conveniences for keeping domestic stock. The villages are laid out in regular order, being divided into lots more or less intersected by roads or streets. The plots are usually in the form of an oblong square. The cottage is situated at an equal distance from each side of the allotment, and at about eight or ten feet, more or less, from the public thoroughfare. The piece of ground in front is, in some instances, cultivated in the style of a European garden: displaying rose-bushes, and other flowering shrubs among the choicer vegetable productions; while the remainder is covered with all the substantial vegetables and fruits of the country, heterogeneously intermixed. In this description there is an especial reference to the settlement at Sligoville*—a view of which is here annexed.

This township was commenced in 1835, anticipative of the necessity that would exist for such establishments in the incipient operations of freedom, both as a

* Named in honour of the Marquis Sligo, when Governor of Jamaica.

refuge for the peasantry, and for the general advantage of the country.

The representation being partially given from memory may not be so correct in some of its details as could have been desired; but the object for which it is designed is to give a comprehensive view of the township as to its situation, appearance, and character. These remarks equally apply to the representation of Clarkson Town by which it is succeeded.

The following testimony was borne to the former a few months since by a medical gentleman in a private communication to a friend in England:—"I visited Sligoville, and remained there a week. Every allotment of land is now sold, and many of the people are applying in vain for more. This township is in a very prosperous condition. The canes, provisions, and fruit, are equal, if not superior, to any in the island. Many of the settlers had not a penny when they came; but they worked, and paid for the land by its produce. They have erected comfortable cottages, and are now living in perfect happiness, as far as human happiness can be perfect. They have no anxieties; and are eminently grateful, both to Christians who worked for, and to the God who gave them freedom."

A sketch of Clarkson Town, with the circumstances attending its opening, may serve to convey a still more correct idea of the progress of social improvement throughout the country.

This township is beautifully situated in the centre of a long valley or glade, formed by two ranges of mountains, rearing their summits to the clouds, and nearly meeting at their base. Beheld from a mountain

SLIGOVILLE, WITH MISSION PREMISES.

pass immediately in the rear of the settlement, two or three sugar-estates are visible in the distance; and beyond them, by an accommodation of the foreground to avoid obstruction from the trees which are in process of being cleared away are seen the towns of Kingston and Port Royal; whilst, as an additional element of interest and beauty in the picture, the ports disclose their shipping, and the harbour the small craft, that are perpetually skimming to and fro over its surface, with now and then a merchantman or man-of-war homeward or outward bound.

The settlement is already of considerable extent, and is gradually increasing. The cottages are of comfortable size, containing about three rooms each, and are very substantially built. The township contains at present but three principal streets, one of which, by an angle in its centre, is divided into two, named Victoria and Albert. Along these, leaving a piece of garden-ground in front, the cottages are ranged on either side, at equal distances.

The interesting ceremony of opening the township took place on the 12th day of May, 1842. A considerable number of people were attracted by the occasion; and, as its principal objects were to secure an opportunity of preaching the Gospel and administering advice, accommodation for a large auditory had been provided beneath a cluster of old forest-trees, on the mountain-side, and in a situation which commanded a view of the w[illegible] settlement. It was a most romantic spot—the m[illegible]ns forming an amphitheatre, covered with trees [illegible]ch of varied foliage and beauty, arrestin[illegible] floated along the sky,

> " With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
> Access denied, and overhead up grew
> Insuperable heights of loftiest shade,
> Cedar and branching palm,"

whilst their sides, and the extended and lovely valley below, presented in beautiful contrast a garden reclaimed from the wide waste around by the arts of peaceful industry.

In consequence of the reverberation of sound along the narrow defile which the township occupies, a shout of the voice was all that was necessary to attract the company to the place of meeting. Accordingly, at the appointed hour, the words, " Come to prayers," being vociferated two or three times by one of the most robust and active of the villagers, who ascended the summit of a detached hill for the purpose, every individual in the settlement was seen wending his way to this rural sanctuary; the aged and infirm supporting themselves on a staff, and others more vigorous climbing the steep ascent with quick and eager step: all, at the same time, with countenances that betokened the pleasure which such a summons had created.

The pulpit was a rude table, covered with a white cloth, and situated close to the huge trunk of one of the group of trees already mentioned. The hearers were seated almost in semicircles on planks affixed to uprights placed in the ground, beneath the shade of the wide-spread branches, altogether presenting a most novel and interesting spectacle.

The writer commenced the service and delivered an address containing, as is usual on such occasions, advice on the subject of p e duties,

urging on all present the advantages of a conscientious and faithful discharge of them, both as evidences of their piety towards God, and as necessary causes of their temporal prosperity and happiness. The Rev. Thomas Dowson preached an energetic and appropriate discourse, relating, in an especial manner, to the spiritual interests of the hearers. The service was then closed by prayer and praise.

These preliminary engagements being ended, the writer proceeded to the ceremony of naming the town, and accordingly proposed its being called "Clarkson Town," in honour of the celebrated philanthropist of that name, to whose long and untiring efforts on behalf of the African race the great boon of emancipation was mainly to be attributed, detailing some of the difficulties this venerable man had to encounter, and the sacrifices he was called to make, in the prosecution of his arduous work, deducing from the whole his pre-eminent claim to their most grateful remembrance.

This address was received with cordial responses, and the designation, "Clarkson Town," by men, women, and children united, resounded throughout the valley. "The venerable Clarkson, and his associates in the great work of securing liberty to the slave! May they live to hear of still greater triumphs of their philanthropy! May they persevere in their benevolent efforts until slavery and the slave-trade shall perish in every land; and may they be at last crowned with immortal honour and happiness in heaven!" was repeated by the crowd with the greatest enthusiasm, and followed by loud and long-continued cheering.

A statement of the circumstances which led to the

establishment of the township, together with the leading incidents which had hitherto marked its history, was then read: an extract from which, designed especially to show the advantages of its locality, is here subjoined.

"Although the settlement is at present small and insignificant, it is probable it may soon become of considerable magnitude and importance, as a plan is conceived of cutting a canal from a little above Kingston harbour to the foot of the mountains near which the town is located—a design which, if executed, will be of almost inconceivable advantage to the estates in the neighbourhood, bring a vast tract of land into cultivation now abandoned in morass, afford facilities for the conveyance of produce from the adjoining parishes, and thereby increase cultivation in them to an extent hitherto unprecedented.

"May this infant township rise under the blessing of Almighty God, and may its inhabitants, to the most distant posterity, united in bonds of Christian love and fellowship, be as one family, with one feeling to prompt and one principle to govern!"

This part of the ceremony concluded, the writer proceeded to name the streets of the town, and arriving at the most convenient part of the principal street, he prefaced the designation by a short address, congratulating the peasantry on their loyalty to their sovereign, in desiring the association of Her Majesty's name and that of her Royal consort (a general case in all the new townships) with their social prosperity and happiness. And on his saying aloud, "I name this street 'Victoria,' in honour of our beloved sovereign, by whose gracious will and pleasure the great boon of

freedom was bestowed upon you and your children," all united in loud and successive cheers, followed by singing in chorus two or three verses of the National Anthem. The circumstances attending the naming of the street in honour of Prince Albert were similar, as were also those which accompanied the naming of the remainder, among which was "Gurney-street," in remembrance of Joseph J. Gurney, Esq., who, as described in his 'Winter in the West Indies, in 1841,' visited the settlement and was delighted both with its appearance, and the manners, intelligence, and hospitality of the people.*

At the conclusion of the business of the day the two ministers who conducted the ceremonies, together with the friends who accompanied them, retired loaded with caresses and followed by benedictions until the interesting spot had vanished from their sight. The writer could not help speculating, as he paced the winding solitary ascent to his home, on the emotions of which the venerable Clarkson and his noble coadjutors in the cause of African liberty would have been the subjects *had they but witnessed the scene*—had they beheld the activity and light-heartedness manifested both by young and old, from the earliest dawn of day. Had they heard their mutual salutations—their hearty cheers and enthusiastic benedictions on the instruments of their deliverance from temporal and spiritual bondage! Had they but seen the evidences of their industry and providence—of their contentment and happiness—these noble-minded men and women would have required no other recompense, they could

* Winter in the West Indies, p. 116.

have desired no higher honour. Nor will their names or their deeds ever be forgotten—they will descend to succeeding generations embalmed in the grateful recollection of the whole posterity of Ham, when the memorials of the tyrants that oppressed them shall have perished.

The number of similar settlements that have been established since the period of emancipation, and the extent of such freeholds, is almost incredible. It is difficult at present to ascertain the precise number of either, but on a rough calculation the villages can scarcely be estimated at fewer than from 150 to 200, or the number of acres of land purchased at less than 100,000. Equally imperfect must be any general statistics respecting them. As nearly as can be ascertained, the number of heads of families who have purchased land is about 10,000,* and the number of cot-

* As a proof that the above calculation is not exaggerated, an extract from a speech delivered, in the House of Commons, March 22, 1842, by Lord Stanley (the present Colonial Secretary), is here inserted:—"The next statement he (Lord Stanley) would read to the House, was by a Stipendiary Magistrate. He said it would appear wonderful how so much had been accomplished in the island, in building, planting, and digging, and making fences, without a cessation of labour on the part of the population. The reason was, that the emancipation from bondage to new hopes, new desires, and new responsibilities, strengthened the exertions of the negro, and enabled him to labour in his own plantation, and to spare time to labour in the plantations of others. And to that statement was attached a most singular document, which showed the number in one parish, not of those who had landed possessions, but of those who had entered their names as being the owners of property liable to taxation, and who had stated their willingness as free men to bear their proportion of the public imposts. In that parish, in 1836, there were 317 names; in 1840, 1321; and in 1841, 1866: and the number of freeholders, who had become freeholders by their accumulations and industry in the island of Jamaica, was in 1838, 2114; and in the space of two years, in 1840, their number had increased to 7340."

CLARKSON TOWN.

tages erected about 3000. The amount paid for land thus purchased is estimated at 70,000*l.*, and the value of the houses 100,000*l.*, thus making the total cost of land purchased by the peasantry in the course of four years, and of cottages erected by them, 170,000*l.*

The names which these simple-minded villagers attach to their unpretending dwellings, though a trifling incident, is not without interest, as one of the lighter indications of their progress in social taste and improvement. A specimen of these is here given.

Victoria	Albert	Adelaide
Happy Home	Free Come	Fisherman's Home
Comfort Castle	Thankful Hill	Happy Hill
Content	Happy Grove	Freedom
Pleasant Hill	Good Hope	Campbell's Delight
Industry	Content my Own	Liberty Content
Happy Wood	Happiness	Thank God to see it
Canaan	Jane's Delight	Comfortable Garden
Occasion Call*	Save Rent	Happy Retreat
Mount Zion	Paradise	You no come I no go†
Envy Not	Heart's Love	A Little of my Own
Happy Hut	Come See	Pleasant Farm

Among the appellations by which the villages themselves are distinguished are the following:—

Victoria	Albert	Adelaide
Normanby	Sligoville	Wilberforce
Vale Lionel	Clarkson	Macauley
Buxton	Brougham	Harvey
Gurney	Sturge	Thompson.

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* Becase him have 'casion. On asking a good man who had given this designation to his freehold its meaning, he replied—"If any person have business wid me, him can come in; but if him don't want me in pottickler, me no wants him company, and him no 'casion to come."

† "If you don't come to trouble me, I don't go to trouble you."

As an evidence of the improvement which has taken place, the decencies of society are no longer outraged by insufficient and filthy apparel. Seldom, indeed, is an individual seen, especially on the Sabbath, except in the most becoming attire,—in every respect as good as that worn by persons of the same class during the summer in England. The dress of the women generally consists of a printed or white cotton gown, with a white handkerchief tied in a turban-like manner round their heads, and a neat straw hat trimmed with white riband; while some, especially the young women, wear straw bonnets and white muslin dresses. This improvement has extended itself, not simply to the mere article of dress, but also to its condition. It is

[Female Negro Peasant in her Sunday and Working Dress.]

uniformly distinguished for its cleanliness, whilst the economy with which it is preserved in a climate where, from insects and other causes, it is so liable to destruction, is truly remarkable.

On occasions when their best garments are to be worn, such as on the Sabbath, at funerals, at meetings of friendship, and during the public holidays, they are carried to the spot by each individual respectively in a basket on the head, and no sooner does the occasion cease than they are as carefully re-placed in the basket, cleaned, and consigned again to the family chest. Contrary to the prevailing opinion in England, the taste of the females is no longer characterised by a love of gaudy colours.

From the circumstances in which they have been placed, it can scarcely be expected that the qualities by which the female sex is so conspicuously adorned in Britain should be equally displayed by these daughters of Ethiopia. Modesty, a sense of shame, together with a refined and delicate sensibility, are however becoming increasingly apparent.

The savage custom of impaling and eating reptiles and unclean animals no longer exists. Polygamy is now highly disreputable, and is universally regarded not only as sinful, but as subversive of social interests and domestic happiness; nor less so are concubinage and general licentiousness. Since the celebration of marriage by missionaries of all denominations has been legalized—which right was conceded to dissenters in general by an Act passed by the Colonial Legislature on the 2nd of December, 1840—the ceremony has become so common as to be an almost daily occur-

rence. Out of a population of 420,000, not fewer than 14,840 marriages have taken place annually since that period, being a proportion of one in 29; indeed, everywhere marriage is now the rule, and concubinage the exception.*

Their ideas of the marriage state are entirely changed. It is now associated with everything virtuous and honourable in human conduct. It is by no means uncommon, when a married man is charged with inconsistency and sin of any kind, that surprise should be expressed on the ground of his having entered into that relation; while those who worthily discharge its duties and obligations are invariably regarded as individuals deserving the highest respect and esteem.

In some districts, the circumstances under which a newly-married pair return to the plantation or a newly-formed village are peculiarly interesting; nearly all the inhabitants, together with friends and acquaintances from the neighbourhood, go out to meet them attired in their best garments, and forming themselves into two parallel lines, through which the bride and bridegroom, with their attendants, pass, shake them heartily by the hand, and invoke a thousand blessings on their union. In other instances, no sooner is the approach of the party announced than they are immediately surrounded, and the ear is filled with the clamour of congratulation. The first appearance of a negro pair at the House of God after the ceremony, usually presents an interesting scene. "God bless you, my sister, my broder, my friend! me wish you much joy!" accompanied by other external signs of sympathy which none

* See Candler's Journal, p. 23.

but the negro race can so eloquently and beautifully express, are uttered in concert by multitudes of voices.

Nor are the principles by which the conjugal, parental, and filial relations are sustained, either imperfectly understood or faintly developed.

Mutual harmony and tenderness, every mild virtue and soft endearment, which gives to home its solace and its charm, is now to be seen in lovely exercise in many a negro family. Comparatively humble as are their thatched and mud-walled cottages, they are associated in the minds of their sable tenants with pleasures that never cloy, and which leave neither stain nor sting behind. "Many a family presents a group worthy of the painter's pencil and the poet's song—a scene to excite the patriot's hope and the Christian's joy—a scene which ministering spirits view with high complacency, and a living sanctuary where the promised presence of the Saviour dwells." Amidst the stillness of a Sabbath evening, after their return from the House of God, often is such a family seen sitting beneath the shadow of the trees which overhang their cottage, engaged in singing a hymn or in listening to the reading of the Scriptures, or religious tracts, "none daring to make them afraid."

"Embosomed in his home
He shares the frugal meal with those he loves;
With those he loves he shares the heartfelt joy
Of giving thanks to God."

A surprising improvement is apparent in the manners and intercourse of the people at large. They no longer exhibit their former uncouth address and their

sullen aspect and carriage, but are respectful to their superiors, graceful in their manners, and social in their dispositions. They never fail to return an act of civility even to a stranger on the public road, though they may be groaning beneath the heaviest burdens, and seldom are they known to offer an insult except under circumstances of great provocation.

Towards each other they manifest a politeness and respect sometimes approaching to extravagance. The lowest of the peasantry seldom meet without exchanging salutations, accompanied in general by mutual inquiries after the health of each other's families. This practice is so general that among friends its accidental violation has often led to unpleasant consequences when not followed by an apology. Gratitude for favours received, respect for old age, love of offspring, generous compassion for the distressed, ardent and disinterested friendship, have, by the most prejudiced writers, been universally acknowledged to be redeeming qualities of the African character; qualities the development of which is daily becoming increasingly manifest.

However justly the charge of indolence and improvidence was formerly brought against the peasantry of Jamaica, it is now no longer of general application.

The term indolent can only be applied to the black population in the absence of remunerating employment. But even then they labour in their own provision grounds. Jamaica peasants loitering along the roads,—associated in groups in their villages for the purpose of idle gossip,—lounging about their residences,—or

spending their time and money at taverns or places of similar resort, are seldom to be found.

On returning from their daily labour the men almost uniformly employ themselves in cultivating their own grounds or in improving their own little freeholds, and the women in culinary and other domestic purposes until driven to their frugal repast and to repose by darkness and fatigue. As to the great bulk of the people, making allowance for the influence of climate, no peasantry in the world can display more cheerful and persevering industry. These facts have not only been confirmed by missionaries and disinterested men throughout the island, as well as by Messrs. Gurney, Candler, and other philanthropic and highly respectable travellers, but by the public journals of the colonists themselves,—journals which are considered the organs of the most respectable portions both of the commercial and agricultural communities.

The editor of the Jamaica Morning Journal, a high authority, so lately as the 17th of February of the present year, thus speaks:—

"The colony remains in that quiescent condition which is so favourable to improvement, and it is gratifying to observe, as the result of this state of things, the impetus which has been given to the agricultural societies, and the formation of literary ones. We do not recollect ever to have seen such vigorous efforts put forth for the improvement of the people and of agriculture as have been within the last few months.

"Except as to the want of labourers, we have no complaints; and, whether regarded socially or politi-

cally, the state of Jamaica at present is as favourable as could be desired by the most ardent lover of peace and quiet. The planters are looking forward to large crops, and are cheered by the hope that they will yet be enabled to recover themselves from the almost ruinous effects of the late drought."

The evidence of Sir Charles Metcalfe from various circumstances will be regarded as important and decisive. It is contained in a despatch to Lord Stanley, and read by the Secretary for the Colonies in the House of Commons on the 22nd of March, 1842. Six years after the passing of the Emancipation Act, and at the end of the second year of Sir Charles Metcalfe's government, he said, "The present condition of the peasantry in Jamaica is very striking. He did not suppose that any peasantry had so many comforts, or so much independence. Their behaviour *was peaceable*, and in some respects cheerful. They were found to *attend divine service* in good clothes, many of them riding on horses. *They sent their children to school, and paid for their schooling*, and not only attended the churches of their different communities, *but subscribed for their respective churches. Their piety was remarkable;* and he was happy to add, that in some respects they *deserved what they had.* They were generally *well ordered* and *free from crime*, had *much improved* in their habits, and were *constant in their attendance on divine worship* themselves, and in the attendance of *their children*, and were willing to *pay the expenses.*"

The following graphic description of the prosperous condition of Jamaica, by J. J. Gurney, Esq., will not

only form an appropriate conclusion to the present chapter, but at the same time illustrate and confirm its statements :—" The imports of the island are rapidly increasing ; trade improving ; the towns thriving ; new villages rising up in every direction ; property much enhanced in value ; well-managed estates productive and profitable ; expenses of management diminished ; short methods of labour adopted ; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever ; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth. Above all, education is rapidly spreading ; the morals of the community improving ; crime is in many districts disappearing ; and Christianity asserting her sway with vastly augmented force over the mass of the population. Cease from all attempts to oppose the current of justice and mercy—remove every obstruction to the fair and full working of freedom—and the bud of Jamaica's prosperity, already fragrant and vigorous, will soon burst into a glorious flower."*

"Say what avail'd, till Freedom's heav'nly band
Deign'd to revisit this forsaken land,
That spicy forests here their burthens bear,
And the rich pine perfumes its native air,

* It is delightful to add that this state of things continues to the present time ; a fact confirmed by the testimony of the present Governor, the Earl of Elgin, in a reply to an address presented to him when performing a tour of the Island, dated Lucea, April 8, 1843 :—"I have observed with much gratification the perfect cordiality which subsists between all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects in the island ; and, large as were my expectations, they have been surpassed by the beauty and fertility of the country."

That, void and sapless in less favour'd fields,
Here the full reed divine ambrosia yields;
For long her fate the hapless island wept,
Whilst o'er her plains the Hydra slavery swept;
From shore to shore the growing ruin spread,
And Justice died, and Mercy, frighten'd, fled.
Till Freedom bade at length these horrors cease,
And call'd to joy, and brotherhood, and peace.
Oh, think, late lords of slaves, what numbers groan
In all the pangs from which you freed your own;
Think too, late bondsmen, and with pity melt,
How millions feel what you have felt!"

CHAPT.

MORAL STATE AND AS

Different Tribes of Africans—Peculiar
Tendency of their Amusements—
teristic Vices—Contrast presented by t
Description of a Funeral as now conducted
Revival of Obeism and Myalism—Decrease o.

SECTION I.—Imported, as the slaves or
from such an immense continent as that of
regions whence they were supplied extending 20
from north to south, and 600 from east to we
habited by various nations, differing materially from each other in civilization, religion, manners, and cus-toms, it may be inferred that their tempers and di sitions would also vary according to the circumsta of the tribe or nation to which they belonged. T most distinguished of the tribes brought into t colony were the Mandingoes, the Foulahs, and othe from the banks of the S gal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande; the Whidahs, or Papaws, the Eboes, the Congoes, the Angolas, the Coromantees, and the Mocoes, from Upper and Lower Guinea. The Mandingoes, the Whidahs, and the Congoes, are said, in general, to have been docile, civil, obliging, and peaceable, in their natural tempers and dispositions; but effeminate both in body and mind, and but ill able to endure the sufferings and toils of slavery. The

Eboes are described as craft frugal, disputative, and avaricious; also as haug ieree, and stubborn; often manifesting a spir lespondency, which not unfrequently urged le commission of suicide. Many of th Mocoes are said to have romantees, the inhabitants of vicinity, are represented as rst passions of which imbruted ie,"—the tribe that had gene- lead of all insurrections, and the rent stock of the Maroons: character- it is probable, were to a considerable de- esult of their condition, rather than of their Their aggregate character when amalga- ed into one society, under the influence of slavery, is thus described by an historian as the result of pe onal knowledge and observation:—"In their pers they are, in general, irascible, conceited, ud, indolent, lascivious, credulous, and very artful. ney are excellent dissemblers and skilful flatterers. hey possess good-nature, and sometimes, but rarely, gratitude. Their memory soon loses the traces of favours conferred on th , but faithfully retains a sense of injuries; this sense is so poignant that they have been known to dissemble their hatred for many years until an opportunity has presented of retaliation." "A debasement of all the mental faculties, and the destruction of every honourable principle," says another author, "seems to be the never-failing consequence of slavery; so that even the most high-spirited and courageous negro becomes, after remain-

ing a few years in slavery, cunning, cowardly, and, to a certain degree, malevolent. The general disposition of the negroes in Jamaica, therefore, but to which there are some exceptions, may safely be asserted to be thievish, lazy, and dissimulating."

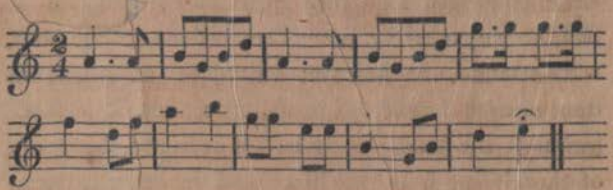
"Ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλησιν."*
HOM. OD., lib. 17, v. 322.

SECTION II.—Their nightly dances or plays, which were frequent and general, were of a character the most licentious. They were usually accompanied by a band of the most rude and monotonous music, composed of instruments of African manufacture. The assemblage on such occasions consisted of both sexes, who ranged themselves in a circle round a male and female dancer, and performed to the music of their drums.

The songs were sung by the other females of the party; one alternately singing, while her companions repeated in chorus; the singers and dancers observing the exactest precision as to time and measure. On some occasions the dance consisted of stamping the feet, accompanied by various contortions of the body, with strange and indecent attitudes: on others, the head of each dancer was erect, or occasionally inclined forward; the hands nearly united in front; the elbows fixed, pointing from the sides; and the lower extremities being held firm, the whole person was moved with-

* The day unblest which first sees man a slave
Robs him of half the worth that nature gave.

out raising the feet from the ground. Making the head and limbs fixed points, they writhed and turned the body upon its own axis, slowly advancing towards each other, or retreating to the outer part of the circumference. Their approaches to each other, and the attitudes and inflexions in which they were made, were highly indecent, the performers being nearly naked. On public holidays, particularly those of Christmas, which, in some respects, resembled the Roman feasts of the Saturnalia, or rather the wild festivals of Africa, the scenes were oftentimes too disgusting to be looked upon. On such occasions each of the African tribes upon the differe estates formed itself into a distinct party, composed ' men, women, and children. Each party had its Ki or Queen, who was distinguished by a mask of the most hideous appearance, and attired from head to foot in gaudy harlequin-like apparel. They paraded or gambolled in their respective neighbourhoods, dancing to the rude music, which was occasionally drowned by the most hideous yells from the whole party by way of chorus. The following is a specimen of the airs sung by the negroes on such occasions:—



In the towns, such processions were preceded by a tall athletic man, attired in the same grotesque habili-

ments, in addition to which he wore a most hideous head-dress, surmounted by a pair of ox-horns, while from the lower part of the mask large boar-tusks protruded. This hero of the party was called John Connu, after the name of a celebrated African at Axim on the coast of Guinea, with whom the practice is supposed to have originated. He bore in his hand a large wooden sword which he occasionally brandished, accompanying its evolutions by a thousand fantastic freaks. Several companions were associated with him as musicians, beating banjas and tomtoms, blowing cow-horns, shaking a hard round black seed, called Indian shot, in a calabash, and scraping the bones of animals together, which, added to the vociferations of the crowd, filled the air with the most discordant sounds. They were chiefly followed by children and disreputable women, the latter frequently supplying the performers with intoxicating drinks. Being generally encouraged, they paraded the streets, and exhibited themselves in private houses, for whole days and nights successively; and in consequence of the violent exercise, the drunkenness, and other excesses in which they indulged, multitudes of them annually fell a prey to sickness and death.

On a New Year's Day *sets* of young women, or dancing-girls, often elegantly dressed, and distinguished as reds and blues, or according to the colour of the riband worn by them as a badge, went from house to house of what were called the respectable inhabitants, and danced for voluntary gifts. The conduct of all parties on some of these occasions was dis-

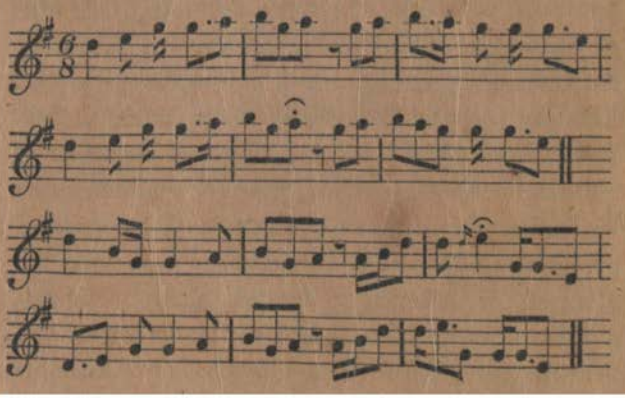
graceful to humanity, while the dress of each individual of the sets being furnished in many cases by her owner, the profits of these excesses were shared between them.

SECTION III.—Their practices at funerals were unnatural and revolting in a high degree. No sooner did the spirit depart from the body of a relative or friend, than the most wild and frantic gesticulations were manifested, accompanied by the beating of drums and the singing of songs. When on the way with the corpse to interment, the bearers, who were often intoxicated, practised the most strange and ridiculous manœuvres. They would sometimes make a sudden halt, put their ears in a listening attitude against the coffin, pretending that the corpse was endued with the gift of speech—that he was angry and required to be appeased, gave instructions for a different distribution of his property, objected to his mode of conveyance, or refused to proceed farther towards the place of burial until some debts due to him were discharged, some slanderous imputation on his character removed, some theft confessed, or until they (the bearers) were presented with renewed potations of rum: and the more effectually to delude the multitude, and thereby enforce their claims, to some of which they were often instigated by the chief mourners, they would pretend to answer the questions of the deceased, echo his requirements, run back with the coffin upon the procession, or jerk with it from side to side of the road; not unfrequently, and under the most trivial pretence, they

HEATHEN PRACTICES AT FUNERALS.

would leave the corpse at the door or in the house of a debtor or neighbour indiscriminately, and resist every importunity for its [illegible] until his pretended demands were satisfied.

On estates these cere[illegible]e generally performed in a manner which [illegible]f possible, still more revolting. They took place at *night* by the light of torches, amidst drumming, dancing, singing, drunkenness, and debauchery. The coffin was usually supported on the heads of two bearers, preceded by a man carrying a white flag, and followed by the intoxicated multitude. They went to each house of the negro village ostensibly to "take leave," but really for exaction and fraud. "The following air," says Mr. Barclay, "I have heard sung by the heathen slaves at their funerals, and probably African. To me it appeared strikingly wild and melancholy, associated as it is in my mind with such recollections, and heard for the first time sung by savages interring their dead at the midnight hour."



The corpse being deposited in the grave and partially covered with earth, the attendants completed the burial (for a time) by [illegible] the earth behind them, to prevent the dec[illegible] lowing them home. The last sad offices w[illegible] closed by sacrifices of fowls and other dome[illegible]nimals, which were torn to pieces and scattered over the grave, together with copious libations of blood and other ingredients, accompanied at the same time with the most violent and extravagant external signs of sorrow; they stamped their feet, tore their hair, beat their breast, vociferated, and manifested the most wild and frantic gestures. No sooner, however, did the party return to the house of their relatives and friends than every sign of sadness vanished; "the drums resounded with a livelier beat, the song grew more animated, dancing and festivity commenced, and the night was spent in riot and debauchery." Were the deceased a female, the reputed husband for about a month afterwards was negligent in his person and dress. At the close of this period he proceeded with some of his friends to the grave with several articles of food, and sung a song congratulating the deceased on her enjoyment of complete happiness. This was supposed to terminate their mutual obligations. Each of the party then expressed his wishes of remembrance to his kindred, repeated benedictions on his family, promised soon to return to them, repeated promises to take care of her children, and bade the deceased an affectionate farewell. An additional quantity of earth was now thrown over the grave, and the party partook of the repast they had provided, con-

cluding the ceremony with dancing, singing, and vociferation, regarding death as a welcome relief from the calamities of life, and a passport to the never-to-be-forgotten scenes of their nativity.

Not only were the negroes the subjects of great superstitious credulity, but superstition itself in its most disgusting forms prevailed among them to a very great extent. Dark and magical rites, numberless incantations, and barbarous customs, were continually practised. The principal of these were Obeism, Myalism, and Fetishism; and such was their influence upon the general mind, that they were accompanied by all the terrors that the dread of a malignant being and the fear of unknown evil could invest them.

Obeism was a species of witchcraft employed to revenge injuries, or as a protection against theft, and is so called from Obi, the town, city, district, or province of Africa where it originated. It consisted in placing a spell or charm near the cottage of the individual intended to be brought under its influence, or when designed to prevent the depredations of thieves, in some conspicuous part of the house or on a tree; it was signified by a calabash or gourd containing, among other ingredients, a combination of different coloured rags, cat's teeth, parrot's feathers, toad's feet, egg-shells, fish-bones, snake's teeth, and lizards' tails.*

* Another part of the vile art was to cause the death of victims by pretending to catch their shadows, or holding them spell-bound, as within a magic circle. By the slave-law it was punishable by death. The following is a description of it as given by a witness on a trial that took place some years ago:—

"Do you know the prisoner to be an Obeah man? Yes,

Terror immediately seized the individual who beheld it, and either by resigning himself to despair, or by the secret communication of poison, in most cases death was the inevitable consequence. Similar to the influence of this superstition was that of their solemn curses pronounced upon thieves, but which it would be too tedious to detail.

Myalism, as well as Fetishism, were constituent parts of Obeism, and included a mystery of iniquity which perhaps was never fully revealed to the uninitiated. The votaries of this art existed as a fraternity composed of individuals from the surrounding neighbourhood, who were regularly inducted into it in accordance with certain demoniacal forms. They adopted every possible means to increase their numbers, and proposed, as the advantages of membership, exemption from pain and premature death; from death, especially as designed by white men; or certain recovery from its influence when life was actually extinct. It was understood to counteract the effect of Obeism, but was often much more demoralizing and fatal in its results. The master of the ceremonies, who was usually denominated Doctor, by violent and excessive dancing, as

Ees, Massa, shadow-catcher true.

What do you mean by shadow-catcher?

Him heb coffin—[a little coffin was here produced]—his set fo catch dem shadow.

What shadow do you mean?

When him set Obeah for somebody him catch dem shadow, and dem go dead."

Its nature was thus graphically explained to a gentleman by a negro whom he interrogated respecting it:—"If you want what cure it cure, if you want what kill it kill, massa."

well as by the use of poisonous drugs, deprived his victims of sensibility, and apparently of life; and when, by the use of medicinal herbs, he had restored them to their former condition, pretended that he had done so by extracting pieces of glass bottle, snakes, and other Obeah ingredients and reptiles from their skin.* A miraculous cure was hereby supposed to have been effected, and contributions were liberally awarded to the magician; seldom, however, did the constitution of the patient recover from the effects of the experiment. A few years since there was scarcely an estate which did not contain a priest or priestess of this deadly art, nor did there appear to be a single negro whose mind was not more or less under its influence.

The circumstances attending the Fetish oath, which was a pledge of inviolable secresy, and usually administered previously to insurrections or individual murders, was terrible. Blood was drawn from each individual of the party present; this was mixed with grave-dirt and gunpowder in a bowl, and was partaken of by each individual in the secret as a ratification of his sincerity.

SECTION IV.—In general both sexes were much addicted to drunkenness. The African parent even brought up his children to this destructive vice from their earliest infancy, while nurses administered rum

* The author once saw a negro suffering from a gum-boil, who persisted in affirming that the Myal Doctor had extracted a snake from the affected part.

to infants as soon as they were born. In some cases the practice of drinking ardent spirits was as much distinguished for its filthiness and economy, as it was for its moral turpitude, a single dram being often made to gratify the taste of a whole family.

To swearing they were awfully addicted. Not only did they profane the sacred name of God in common conversation or in the fury of malignant passion, but whenever they were afflicted or sustained any loss in the produce of their grounds by unpropitious seasons or any awful visitation of Divine Providence. On all such occasions did they accuse the Divine Being of partiality, and lift up their voices against him in blasphemy. Games of hazard with the dice, and gambling of almost every description, together with cock-fighting, and various gymnastic games, were almost universal.

Moral honesty, or a conscientious regard to truth, was not only unknown, but unlooked for; no one expected his neighbour to tell the truth, or to be upright in his dealings, any further than suited his convenience or interest; even parents educated their children in all the arts of dissimulation, fraud, and perfidy. "Which way did Fox run?" said an overseer to a negro boy, when in pursuit of a slave who had escaped from punishment. The boy pointed to a thicket in which the fugitive had eluded the grasp of his pursuer. On returning home the overseer was attracted by the shrieks of a child under severe punishment, and which proceeded from the negro village. Curiosity urged him to the spot, and on looking through the

crevices of a negro hut, he saw the boy to whom he had just addressed himself suspended by his heels, writhing and moaning beneath the heavy chastisement inflicted on him by his *mother*, who repeated, during the intervals of the strokes, "Next time buckra ax you which side neger run, you tell him me no know, massa." The overseer is said to have repeatedly put the boy to the test afterwards, but could never get the truth from him again. From these causes many, as they grew up, were unable to distinguish between truth and falsehood in the common occurrences of life. Truth, indeed, was designated in negro parlance "telling lies to buckra." A boy belonging to an estate-school brought up a school-fellow to his teacher for punishment on the charge of his having "told a lie upon him." "What lie did he tell about you?" said the teacher. "Him tell driber me no tun out to work a mornin, sar." On investigation it was found that the charge was true, but the plaintiff persisted in his suit in spite of all the reasoning of the teacher, and thought injustice was done him because the defendant was not convicted and punished; a feeling in which all the other boys of the school, many of whom had assisted in bringing the accused forward, deeply sympathised. Hence it was difficult to obtain a correct answer from a negro on the most trifling subjects. Nor is it surprising that under these and other circumstances they should not fear an oath. Many, indeed, had an idea that a false oath on "buckra's book," the Bible, would be attended by disastrous consequences, but protected themselves against them by concealing a small piece

of silver coin—a broken rial—in their mouths as a charm. By multitudes, however, the most solemn oaths were no more regarded than a common declaration. Thus, as one of the demoralizing effects of slavery, the whole population may be said to "have gone astray from the birth, speaking lies."

With this deplorable lack of integrity and moral principle, added to the circumstances of their servile condition, it may be supposed that *theft* was prominent in their catalogue of sins. Their views of theft were very similar to those which they entertained with regard to falsehood. Depredations on the property of an owner were considered justifiable—*crimes* only when committed among themselves. Of this the following anecdote is an illustration:—"Me don't tief notin," said a negro who was detected by an overseer in the very act of stealing sugar—again and again protesting his innocence. "What do you mean, sir? haven't you got the stolen property now in your possession?" "But me don't tief it, me only take it, massa." "What do you mean by that?" "As sugar belongs to massa, and myself belongs to massa, it all de same ting—dat make me tell massa me don't tief it; me only take it." "What do you call thieving, then?" "When me broke into broder house and ground, and take away him ting, den me tief, massa."

To escape the miseries of slavery, as well as from a vain hope that they would then return to their own land, and mingle again with their kindred beneath the shade of the family tree, suicide was awfully pre-

valent. Indeed at one period to such an extent was this crime committed, that to counteract its influence the legislature enacted a law that every one guilty of it should be hung in chains on the public roads till devoured by birds of prey.

SECTION V.—It is time, however, to portray a brighter scene, and to awaken sympathies of a higher order. From causes hereafter to be detailed, this state of society, especially during the last twenty years, has been most astonishingly improved. That cunning, craft, and suspicion—those dark passions and savage dispositions before described as characteristics of the negro, if ever possessed in the degree in which they are attributed to them,—are now giving place to a noble, manly, and independent, yet patient and submissive spirit. They now feel themselves to be men, and not, as they had been taught to believe, without any more claim to that distinction than the beasts which perish. Whatever of truth there might once have been in the representation previously given of their tempers and dispositions, it no longer applies to them as a body. Although the subjects of ardent passions and feelings, it is allowed by every disinterested observer that a more docile, kind-hearted, and generous people can scarcely be found. However justly or otherwise they may have been formerly chargeable with ingratitude, numberless cases have occurred in which, towards those who have really been their friends and benefactors, their gratitude has been found to be both

general and excessive, as was strikingly evinced on the departures of Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith from the island. The following sketch of the latter event will doubtless prove interesting.

Although Sir Lionel was to leave the vice-regal residence at the hour of day-break in the morning, some hundreds of persons had collected full two hours previously; and at half-past five o'clock, when he stepped into his carriage, there could not have been less than 2000 present. They were collected principally at the entrance of the road along which his Excellency had to pass from the square.

At the head of this immense mass was a large banner stretched across the street, bearing the inscription "Sir Lionel Smith, the Poor Man's Friend and Protector," whilst others, on which was inscribed "We Mourn the Departure of our Governor," and similar devices, were variously distributed throughout the line.

The feelings of regret and veneration universally expressed on the approach of his Excellency were overpowering, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he and his attendants resisted the general determination to convey him back again, all being apparently resolved that he should not leave them. For a considerable distance the whole mass hung upon the carriage, or ran beside it, until ready to faint with fatigue, uttering lamentations and invoking blessings on his head. Mothers in almost every instance exhibited their infants as trophies—trophies of the blessings and advantages of freedom. Exclusively of the multitude thus congregated in the town, the road lead-

TESTIMONIAL PRESENTED TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SLIGO,
BY THE APPRENTICES OF JAMAICA.

ing to the place of embarkation, which extended a distance of six miles, was thronged with people.

Interesting and affecting, however, as was the scene already beheld, that exhibited on the arrival of the procession at Port Henderson was doubly so. Added to the number of people of all ranks and colours pouring into the village along the roads as far as the eye could reach, an immense number, nearly all of whom were in deep mourning, or wore black riband in some conspicuous part of their dress, had drawn themselves up in two parallel lines at the entrance, and as Sir Lionel and his *cortège* had proceeded to the middle of the lines the whole mass surrounded them, and declaring that their "Governor and friend" should not leave them, began to effect their purpose, by taking the horses from the carriage to draw him back again to the seat of government. This determination being at length overruled, they then insisted on drawing him to the beach, as the last act of kindness they could show him. To avoid this, probably from the excitement it might occasion, the veteran alighted from his carriage, intending to walk the remainder of the way.

He was in a moment surrounded by the multitude, whose lamentations and other expressions of sorrow at his departure so completely overcame him and several of his attendants that they seemed scarcely able to proceed. As an evidence, indeed, if any were wanting, that the hero of a hundred battles had still a heart alive to sympathy, his deep emotion at length vented itself by a torrent of tears. The effect of this was, as may be supposed, irresistible—(a veteran war-

rior in tears!)—and the whole mass seemed to catch the contagion. At the same time the assembled multitude, now greatly augmented, had formed themselves around him as an impenetrable barrier, as though determined he should not advance. After some expostulation and entreaty the mass gave way, and all moved on together to the beach, with all the solemnity and sorrow of a funeral procession, in which some great benefactor was the object of regret. Arriving at the water's edge the scene became affecting beyond all description. The sobs of the multitude, hitherto half-stifled, now burst forth like a torrent; and from the noble-minded object of all this affection downwards, throughout the whole mass, which included several officers and civilians of the highest distinction in the colony, scarcely a dry eye was to be seen. As the boat receded from the shore Sir Lionel rallied sufficiently to bow to the assembled crowd, and cries and lamentations, intermingled with invocations, followed him until he was out of hearing.

Seldom has the eye witnessed a more affecting scene, and certainly never did a more popular Governor quit the shores of Jamaica.

No people can exhibit greater tenderness of disposition, or more that is endearing in the various relationships of life, than do our black and coloured brethren. Their character is distinguished by some features unusually amiable; by a peculiar warmth of the social affections, and by a close adherence to all the ties of kindred.

Filial dutifulness and attachment are remarkable

traits in their character, and sometimes manifest themselves in a way peculiarly touching.

"What kind of a woman was your mother?" said a slave-master some years ago in a familiar mood to a fine African boy whom he had purchased. The boy's heart writhed beneath the associations it awakened. "Come, tell me," said the white man, who regarded the black man as a brute only fit to be insulted, "What kind of a woman was she?—Was she tall?—Was she thin?—Was she old?—Was she beautiful?" The boy lifted up his glistening eyes, and in broken accents said, "How could a mother but be beautiful in the eyes of her child!" Maternal tenderness scarcely admits of an exception, and cases of infanticide are unknown. Lander, during his journey in Africa, frequently met with "mothers who carried about their persons little wooden images of their deceased infants, to whose lips they presented a portion of food whenever they partook of it themselves, and nothing could induce them to part with these inanimate memorials."

In no part of the world can travelling be accomplished with greater personal safety than in Jamaica. An attempt at robbery or murder on the highway is scarcely ever heard of. It is customary to travel through the interior of the country, and that generally without any defensive weapons, during any part of the night.

In this the author speaks from experience, having travelled through the settlements of the black population in the interior,—by their houses along the public

roads, or scattered amidst the frightful solitudes of impervious forests and isolated glens, at all hours of the night, attended only by a guide, and never had any suspicions awakened by the appearance of a black or coloured man. Even dwelling-houses in the country are but rarely bolted or locked at night. A white mendicant was scarcely ever turned from the hut of a negro unpitied or unrelieved, or a fatigued and half-famished traveller unrefreshed.

No women in the world can possess more of genuine kindness than the black females of Jamaica. To a stranger arrested by sickness on the road, and unable to proceed, none would more tenderly act the part of the good Samaritan. If benighted, no more friendly voice could invite them to a shelter till the morning dawn appeared—no face could beam with greater tenderness and hospitality, and no generosity could be more abundantly displayed in providing for his refreshment and repose.

Once, when passing through a Maroon town, parched with thirst and exhausted with fatigue, the writer called at one of their huts, and requested a draught of water, and he will never forget the tenderness and compassion with which he was surveyed by the inmates, the earnestness with which they sprang forward to hold his horse, or the eloquence with which they urged him into their clean and comfortable apartment. Such was the pleasure which his acquiescence afforded them, that it was with difficulty he could deter the family from endeavouring to lay almost the whole village under contribution for his refreshment. Having a long journey

before him, he remained but a few minutes, and departed amidst their loud and repeated benedictions.

On another occasion, when travelling among the mountains, the author was attacked with fever; and the symptoms increasing, so as to render him unable to proceed, he turned his horse's head towards a decent-looking residence, which he soon found was occupied by a family of colour. Here he was recognised; and an angel could scarcely have been more welcome. The house was cheerless; but he was put in the best apartment; the cleanest and best covering the cottage could afford was spread for his repose; while the inhabitants of the whole neighbourhood seemed to be employed in acts of kindness for his recovery. Some gathered medicinal herbs; others were sent in different directions for medicinal ingredients; and while some prepared them, others applied leaves to his oppressed and burning head—the seat of the disorder. On his restoration to reason (for he had been delirious), the patient found himself surrounded by an immense crowd; some of whom were pitying him, some expressing their hopes that Misses would not hear of it, and others praying earnestly for his restoration.

The writer has scarcely ever been in such circumstances without thinking of the eulogium pronounced on the female sex by Mungo Park, called forth by the kindness of the African female, in the little Bambarra cottage near Sego; or the still more beautiful and sentimental one of Ledyard's:—"I have always remarked," says the latter, "that women in all countries are civil, obliging, tender, and humane. . . . To a woman, whether

civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering through the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide-spread regions of the wandering Tartar—if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me; and to add to this virtue (so worthy of the appellation of benevolence), their actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and, if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel, with a double relish."

Scenes of dissipation and the midnight revel are now comparatively unknown in the island. Throughout whole districts, where such practices were common, scarcely a drum or other rough instrument of music is heard throughout the year. The frantic orgies and Bacchanalian festivities of the Christmas holidays, with a few exceptions, are confined now almost exclusively to the towns, where they are secretly encouraged; but even here they are becoming increasingly unpopular, and will be speedily extinct. The processions on such occasions are now few, and composed of the lowest and most disreputable of the people, chiefly from the country, whose puerilities excite the disgust of the intelligent, and the ridicule of children.

The absurd ceremonies and disgusting scenes practised and beheld at funerals are now generally discontinued both in town and country. They are also

attended to during the *day*, and that nearly in accordance with civilized custom.

To relieve the solitariness of individual watching, and to calm their troubled spirit, it is customary in most cases for the friends of the deceased to sit up with the corpse on the night previous to interment; but the hours are usually spent—not in rioting and drunkenness, not in frantic mirth and revelry—but in religious conversation and prayer. It is still usual to sing on such occasions; but the songs are the songs of Zion, and the dirge is in unison with the solemnity of the event. Instead of the riotous, and in every way revolting spectacles formerly exhibited in following the corpse to the grave, more orderly deportment on such occasions is not discovered in the most civilized parts of the world; whilst the succeeding obsequies are regarded with a solemnity of feeling on the part of the spectators, and are accompanied by such expressions of subdued and reverential sorrow by the bereaved, as seldom fail to render the scene deeply solemn and impressive.

As a contrast to the manner in which funerals were formerly conducted in the rural districts, it may not be uninteresting to give the following specimen, in which the author was personally concerned. It was in a negro village on an estate. Some time before he reached the spot, his ear was saluted by the sounds of a soft and plaintive air; and on turning an angle round a clump of cocoa-nut trees, he found about fifty persons, chiefly females, decently dressed, sitting in

front of one of the cottages, beneath a shed constructed for the occasion, covered over with leaves of the plantain tree. They were singing a hymn from Dr. Rippon's selection. After a little conversation with them, the minister entered the hut to see the deceased. The coffin, the shroud, and other appendages, were plain and neat; and in nothing did the usages differ from those practised in this country, but in the circumstance that the deceased was laid out in his best suit of clothes—a custom which is common among all classes in the West Indies.

Everything being announced as ready by the leader of the class to which the deceased had belonged, and who, as was usual, superintended the arrangements gratuitously, the coffin was placed on the shoulders of four men decently dressed. The writer placed himself at its head, and was followed by the procession to the bottom of a garden, rendered conspicuous by rude monumental piles of brick—it was the family burial-place. The last sad offices being performed, the immediate relatives of the departed were assisted to the side of the grave to cast a last look at the coffin, over which they uttered a few audible lamentations, and vented their feelings in a shower of tears, in which they were joined by most of the spectators.

The grave being filled up, the procession withdrew in nearly the same order as that in which it had advanced. The conductor of the ceremony then re-entered the cottage, and after partaking of a piece of cake handed him by an aged African female, on a

waiter covered with a napkin of purest white, delivered an exhortation suitable to the solemn occasion, and returned home.

As a further proof of the progress which the negroes have made in civilization (and for the illustration of which these *particulars* are introduced), it may be remarked that the spell of Obeism and its kindred abominations is broken, and the enchantment dissolved. In some districts, it is true, Myalism has recently revived; but it has been owing to the absence of a law since the abrogation of the Slave Act, by which the perpetrators could be punished, together with the difficulties and expensiveness, in many districts, of procuring proper medical advice and aid. Thus the Myalmen, having most of them been employed in attendance on the sick in the hospitals of estates, and thereby acquired some knowledge of medicine, have, since the abolition of slavery, set up as medical men; and, in order to increase their influence, and, consequently, their *gains*, have called to their aid the mysteries of this abominable superstition; in many cases accomplishing their purposes by *violence* as well as by terror. The more effectually to delude the multitude, the priests of this deadly art, now that religion has become general, have incorporated with it a religious phraseology, together with some of the religious observances of the most popular denominations, and thus have in some instances succeeded in imposing on the credulity and fears of many of whom better things had been expected. These circumstances have aroused the energies of the missionaries to an exposure of the sys-

tem; as also the civil authorities to the punishment of the offenders when convicted of a violation of the law; so that in a very short period it may be hoped but few vestiges of the superstition will remain.

It is universally acknowledged that intemperance is not now the besetting sin of the lower classes in Jamaica. On the first introduction of the Gospel by black teachers, abstinence from intoxicating drinks was made a term of communion—and this previously to the existence of temperance and total-abstinence societies: so that even before the abolition of slavery intemperate habits had been abandoned by nearly one-third of the population. Within the last two years many small public-houses have been established in different parts of the country, and it has been apprehended that the vice would revive. In some districts these fears have been, to a considerable degree, realized; but in others they have been counteracted by the influence of total abstinence societies. Of all the particulars in which perhaps the least improvement is perceptible is that of a conscientious regard to truth and honesty in commercial transactions. In spite of the utmost efforts to hold up these as vices injurious to society and hateful to God, it cannot be denied that they are still very prevalent. Multitudes regard it as their duty to resort to almost any artifice by which their gains may be increased. In negociating with a negro for an article he exhibits for sale, a person may at any time offer him less than one-third of his demand, without the least apprehension of incurring his displeasure. Nor are

these remarks less applicable to hundreds of tradesmen of higher pretensions, and a fairer skin.

The violation of the third commandment is now seldom heard, but under circumstances of violence and passion, and scarcely ever in the public streets, without exciting the cry of shame from the passers-by: whilst even falsehood and dishonesty are gradually yielding to the light of truth and the force of principle. Burglaries are said to be more frequent than formerly; but these have been chiefly perpetrated by a few liberated convicts and other notorious offenders. Although every trifling infraction of the law (contrary to former usage) is now publicly known and punished, the frequent absence of serious offences from the calendar of the courts of quarter-sessions and assize, and gaols often destitute of prisoners, are sufficient and palpable evidences of the general decrease of crime. Domestic servants are beginning to be eminently trustworthy; and, when properly treated and confided in, do not suffer by a comparison with the great bulk of the same class in England. In numberless cases they are devotedly attached to their employers and their families, and manifest a concern for their interests almost unparalleled in the annals of human history; watching them by day and night in sickness; and in times of danger hazarding their lives for the protection of their persons and property. Suicide is now scarcely heard of throughout the length and breadth of the land. In every respect is society advancing to that high moral standard which is fixed in the great Christian code.

It is truly gratifying to add that the sentiments of

the country at large are in delightful harmony with these observations, as is evident by the following Extracts from recent numbers of the 'Morning Journal:'—

"*St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, August*, 1842.

"A Court of Quarter-sessions was held at Rodney-hall on the 8th instant, T. W. Jackson, Esq., chairman.

"The Chairman addressed the Grand Jury briefly, remarking upon the light state of the calendar, which contained no cases of unusual importance. A few cases which had lain over from last Court were disposed of; after which, there being no bills, the Grand Jury were discharged, and the Court adjourned."

"*Kingston, March* 22, 1843.

"IMPROVEMENT IN THE TIMES.

"Our readers will be surprised, and we doubt not pleased, to learn that for the last five days not a single prisoner has been taken up and committed to the cage of this city! We record this fact with great pleasure, as we believe such a circumstance never occurred since the building of the city."

It is worthy of remark that St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, the parish to which the first of these extracts refers, contains a population of 11,000 of recently-enfranchised peasantry, who, during the operation of the systems of slavery and apprenticeship, were considered the most ignorant, demoralized, and refractory of any on the island.

CHAPTER XV.

RELIGIOUS STATE.

SECT. I.—Awful Destitution of Religion in the Island during the first Century of its Occupation by the British—Ignorance of the Black People—Idolatry—Superstition—Subsequent corrupted Christianity—Influence of Ignorant and Superstitious Teachers—Desecration of the Sabbath—Paucity of Places of Religious Worship; of Hearers—Clergy—Their unfavourable Opinion expressed to Parliament as to the Instruction and Conversion of the Slaves—Opinions of Infidel Philosophers.

SECT. II.—Arrival of Missionaries—Opposition experienced—Subsequent Success—Abolition of Sunday Markets—Improved Observance of the Sabbath—Number of regular Places of Worship in 1843—Number of Missionaries—Great Extension of Religion—Village Chapels—Attendance at Places of Worship—Average Size of the largest Congregations—Number of Missionaries of all Denominations—Number of Native Assistants.

SECT. III.—Number of Members in communion with each of the Churches and Denominations of Christians, and aggregate of Inquirers, &c., connected with each Denomination—Size of individual Churches—Manner of admitting Members—Wesleyans, Baptists—Number added to Baptist Churches at one time; in one year—Total Number added to Baptist and Wesleyan Churches during the last twenty years.

SECTION I.—For upwards of a hundred years after Jamaica became an appendage of the British Crown, scarcely an effort was made to instruct the slaves in the great doctrines and duties of *Christianity;* and although, in 1696, at the instance of the mother country, an Act was passed by the local Legislature,

"directing" that all slave-owners should instruct their negroes, and have them baptized, "when fit for it," it is evident, from the very terms in which the Act was expressed, that it was designed to be, as it afterwards proved, a dead letter—a mere political manœuvre, intended to prevent the interference of the parent state in the management of the slaves.

In answer to certain inquiries made by Parliament in 1790, as to the actual state of religious instruction in Jamaica, Mr. Wedderburn replied—"There are a few properties on which there are Moravian parsons; but in general there is no attention paid to religious instruction." The same testimony was borne, at the same time, by Mr. Fuller, agent, of Jamaica, and two others, who, when asked, "What religious instructions are there for the negro slaves?" answered, "We know of none such in Jamaica."

"When I first landed in Jamaica," says Dr. Coke, which was in 1789, "the form of godliness was hardly visible; and its power, except in some few solitary instances, was totally unknown. Iniquity prevailed in all its forms. Both whites and blacks, to the number of between 300,000 and 400,000, were evidently living without hope and without God in the world." The language of the Apostle seemed strikingly descriptive of their entire depravity:—"There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. Their throats are an open sepulchre; with their tongue they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; their feet are swift to shed blood, and the way of peace they have not known."

"As to sending missionaries among them," referring to one of the African tribes, said Mr. Edwards, the historian of Jamaica, in his place in the House of Commons, in 1796, "I speak from my own knowledge when I say that they are cannibals, and that, instead of listening to a missionary, they would certainly *eat* him."

Under such circumstances the religious state of the slave population must have been deplorable. It may be emphatically said that darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people. And if one ray of light glimmered in its midst, it only served to render the surrounding darkness still more visible—more clearly to exhibit the hideous abominations beneath which the island groaned.

Most of the negroes appear to have possessed some notion of a Supreme Being; though, like all uncivilized nations, their ideas of the Deity were very confused and unbecoming. From the frequency of earthquakes, hurricanes, and tornadoes, when the elements seemed to conspire their destruction, they associated with his character all the base passions and attributes of a vindictive and capricious mortal. Hence their devotion was the offspring, not of gratitude, but of terror. Some of them were Papists; some professedly belonged to the Cophtic or Abyssinian churches; some were Mohammedans; some Polytheists and Atheists: but most of them idolaters—worshippers of the sun and moon, of the ocean, of the rocks, of fountains and rivers, of lofty trees, and images of various forms and dimensions. Their idolatry, too, was of the basest

possible description. They did not, like the Hindoos, regard their idols as mere symbolical representations of the Divinity, and useful only as sensible objects to awaken the memory and animate devotion; but ascribed divine power to the material itself, and absolutely worshipped the rude stone or block which their own hands had fashioned. Serpents, lizards, the yellow snake, and other revolting reptiles, also ranked high in the polluted catalogue of their divinities. The Moco tribe, and others bordering on their territory in Africa, are said not only to have worshipped snakes and other reptiles, but also to have eaten them when thus deified. Many worshipped the devil himself, or some imaginary being whom they regarded as the source of all evil.

Absurd, monstrous, and discordant as were the elements which composed their religious system, there is yet to be united with it another ingredient which, if less revolting in its aspect and character, was not only equally unproductive of rational piety and consistent morality, but far more injurious in its consequences. Many of them, from motives of ambition and pecuniary advantage, soon acquired a knowledge of the formularies of the English Church; and, at the conclusion of the war with America, some who had been imported from that continent, mysteriously blending together important truths and extravagant puerilities, assumed the office of teachers and preachers, disseminating far and wide their pernicious follies.

The more effectually to impose upon the credulity of their ignorant and unsuspecting brethren, they endeavoured to persuade them that they were sent of

God, and were endowed by him with peculiar gifts and graces. They pretended to read—to foretel future events; to possess the gift of tongues; and to prophesy. They seldom delivered their instructions without a book, representing it as the Bible; although it as frequently happened to be some other book of a certain size and shape. In one instance a teacher of this description was found haranguing a large assembly from 'Burn's Justice,' holding it upside down. Among the other characteristic errors of this sect, its teachers interpreted what little they knew of the Scriptures literally.

At Christmas it was customary for them and their disciples to go in groups into the woods, or, if there were any in the neighbourhood, among the sheep, over which they pretended to watch, in imitation of the shepherds, to whom the angels announced the birth of the Redeemer, and this under the delusive expectation of being favoured with a similar visitation, or, as they expressed it, "they went into the 'bush' to see the angels," who it was believed made an annual appearance. Their usual attitude in prayer partook of all the austerities of penance. They either stood with their arms extended, and their whole bodies as though transfixed against the wall, or prostrated themselves upon the earth; and in this attitude they remained many hours at a time, and sometimes through the entire night, manifesting the most violent muscular contortions, and uttering the most discordant sounds expressive of internal anguish and agonizing supplication.

At certain seasons each individual, taking a solitary course, wandered into the woods and most secluded parts of the country, in search of the Saviour, professedly after the manner of John the Baptist in the wilderness.

When any of the fraternity were confined to their beds by sickness, the minister, or father, as he was usually called, anointed them with oil, in imitation of the anointing of the Saviour by Mary Magdalene, before his crucifixion. The usual method of its application was by pouring it into the palm of the hand, and rubbing it on the head of the patient; the tata, or father, singing some ditty during the operation, being joined in loud chorus by all who assembled to witness the ceremony.

The influence and temporal interests of these deluded and deluding men increased in proportion to the number of their converts; and, most of them being free men, the duties of their assumed vocation were most assiduously performed. They usually led a wandering life, travelling by night to avoid apprehension. Wherever they took up their residence for a season, they communicated their instructions from house to house, and, with a gravity and importance which they knew well how to assume, confirmed their disciples in the faith. On the visit of one of these impostors to a new neighbourhood, his inquiry at each house was whether any praying persons resided there; and on meeting with a negative he immediately began to open his commission. If listened to with attention, and treated with respect and hospitality, he lifted up

his hands and eyes, and exclaimed, "Peace be to this house." If, on the contrary, he was treated with indifference and insult, he shook off the dust from his feet as a testimony against them.

These infatuated men professed a firm belief in purgatory, and, like the Romish priests, pretended an acquaintance with the destinies of the deceased. Thus, on inquiries being made of their teachers by surviving relatives or friends, the uniform reply was that "they would go and dream about it, and give the required information on the morrow." It scarcely need be added that this question involved in it several conditions, and that the reply was more or less in accordance with the wishes of the applicant.

Dreams and visions constituted fundamental articles of their creed. Some supernatural revelations were regarded as indispensable to qualify for admission to the full privileges of their community. Candidates were required, indeed, to dream a certain number of dreams before they were received to membership, the subjects of which were given them by their teachers.

The meetings of this fraternity were frequently prolonged through nearly half the night. The priests enjoined on their followers the duty of fasting one or two days in the week, and encouraged a weekly meeting at each others' houses, alternately, to drink "hot water" out of white tea-cups (the whole of the tea-table paraphernalia corresponding), which they designated by the absurd and inappropriate epithet of "breaking the peace." To such a deplorable extent did they carry these superstitious practices, and such was the degree

of ignorance on the part of both priests and people, that, in the absence of better information as to what was to be sung in their religious assemblies, they were in the habit of singing the childish story of "the House that Jack Built." Things if possible still more absurd were sung by them on such occasions, while "hallelujah" was repeated at the end of each verse in loud chorus. These are facts which the writer has repeatedly gathered from lips of some of the parties themselves.

The consequences of these practices it would be irrelevant to trace. So rapidly, however, was their influence extending throughout the country on the arrival of the missionaries, that but for the efforts of the latter in counteracting it, it must soon have involved consequences of the most serious character, not only with regard to morals and religion, but also as it respected the pecuniary interests of the colonists.

There was an almost universal desecration of the *Sabbath*. The slaves regarded this sacred day as one which was to be devoted wholly to temporal pursuits. To the industrious it was a time of labour; to others of sport and recreation. Thousands on this day met in the public markets. It was a kind of weekly carnival where friends and acquaintances congregated, universal merriment prevailed, and reckless dissipation was everywhere indulged. It was spent indeed worse than were the Christmas holidays. The book of sports seemed to have been introduced and patronised, and all the vices which disgraced the reign of Charles II. to have been exemplified and perfected. Certain places were selected for public diversion. Dancing,

yelling, wrestling, fighting, and gambling, met the eye in every direction, while the horrid din of savage music fell distressingly upon the ear. The very streets and lanes in and about the towns presented such scenes of riot and wickedness that scarcely a decent person dared walk out even at noon-day. At a very early hour on a sabbath morning every road leading to the towns and market-stations of the country was crowded with negroes, carrying to the market heavy loads of ground provisions, wood, grass, &c., while the market itself baffled all description. Every bad passion of the human heart was there seen in active operation. Covetousness exhibited itself under all its Protean forms; cheating, thieving, and extortion abounded on every hand. Anger, jealousy, and revenge declared themselves by loud bursts of furious passion, by oaths and imprecations, by cursings and fightings, whilst scenes of the most revolting drunkenness were visible in all directions. On the evening of the day every road was crowded with negroes returning from market with a supply of salt provisions, and other articles which their morning sales had enabled them to procure, and on these roads drunkenness and riot were to be seen at every step.

Nor was the desecration of this day confined to the purposes of traffic. Most of the rivers were crowded with washerwomen. The negro houses were undergoing repairs, and the provision-grounds peopled with workmen. This violation was constant, open, and systematic, as well as universal.

There was a great paucity of places of *religious*

worship. Even in the year 1800 there were only twenty churches on the island, the population being then estimated at 400,000 souls, making an aggregate of 19,000 to each parish; and on the supposition that each parish had a rector, there were 19,000 to each clergyman, which was not more than one in each district of 560 square miles. Accordingly, from the size of the parishes, these places of worship were distant a day's journey from thousands of the parishioners, and so small that, although situated in the midst of a population of 19,000 souls, they would not contain more than from 100 to 150 hearers each. Seldom were they all open at one time, and less frequently did the whole number of hearers throughout the island exceed 300 persons.

Thus lamentably deficient in number and size as were the sanctuaries of the Most High, and appalling as was the indifference and irreligion everywhere displayed, there is another circumstance still more to be deplored. From all that can be gathered it does not appear that even one of these places of worship was occupied by an evangelical clergyman. The whole of that professedly sacred order might then have been designated, in the emphatic language of the prophet, "ignorant shepherds, dumb dogs that could not bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber, greedy dogs which can never have enough, shepherds that could not understand, all looking to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter."*

Even at a much later period a pious clergyman, or

* Isaiah lvi., 10, 11.

a pious white layman, was not to be found in the whole island. Scarcely could Sodom and Gomorrah have presented a greater dearth of all that was virtuous and good in human character. This appalling representation is tacitly sustained by the concessions of Francis Hanson, a long resident in Jamaica, and who, in a history of the constitution of the island written about the year 1805, says, "I may also add that the people generally are of the Church of England. We have very few papists and sectaries, for neither Jesuits nor Nonconformist parsons do or can live amongst us. Some few have attempted, but could never gain proselytes enough to afford them sustenance."

In the year 1816, as the result of discussions in England, a curate was added to each parish; but even after the appointment of this additional number of clergymen the spiritual instruction of the slaves seems hardly to have been contemplated, as is proved by the following returns made to the Colonial Secretary by clergymen themselves. The rector of Clarendon, Jamaica, having under his care a population of 18,000 souls, says—"I have time but little more than sufficient to discharge the common functions of my office, in burying, marrying, and christening, and attending on Sundays my church, which is situated at least ten miles from my rectory. Limited, however, as I am with respect to time, I have yet endeavoured to do all that I could. Within the last thirteen months I have twice made known to the principal proprietors and attorneys in this parish my readiness to attend on such properties, for the religious instruction of the slaves, as they would

permit me to visit; but I have not been able to obtain the consent of more than two of them."

The rector of St. Thomas's in the East agrees with the reverend gentleman whose authority is just cited. "The fact is, in respect to slaves in general, that their knowledge of the English language is so very limited that they can derive little or no advantage from their attendance at church. They are so conscious of this defect, that when I go to church for the express purpose of catechising them, very few will attend, and not one of these will utter a word but what has been put into his mouth. How then, it may be said, are twenty-six thousand slaves (the number in this parish) to be instructed? The subject has frequently engaged my thoughts, and I cannot conceive any other mode than this: let the young creole slaves be taught to speak and read, and at the same time be instructed in the first principles of the Christian religion, in public schools established in different parts of the parish; and let them communicate what instruction they have received in their own way to their African brethren, to whom it is *impossible* for white people to make themselves understood."

From the opinion expressed in the concluding sentence of this latter paragraph, it is evident that the conversion of the negroes to Christianity was generally considered impossible, "a hopeless task," "a wild and ridiculous theory." "Such," says Mr. Long, "is their general inappetency to become converts, together with their barbarous stupidity and ignorance of the English language, which renders them incapable of un-

derstanding and reasoning upon what is said to them, that it would foil the most zealous endeavours." Says Bosman:—"If it were possible to convert the African negroes to Christianity, the Roman Catholics would probably succeed better than any other sect," assigning as a reason, the influence which pageantry and show ever exerts over the untutored mind. "Among a host of similar testimonies," says Long, "the Rev. Mr. Hughes, a clergyman in Jamaica, supports the same conclusion. 'To bring them,' says he, 'to the knowledge of the Christian religion is undoubtedly a great and good design, in the intention laudable, and in speculation easy; yet I believe, for reasons too tedious to be mentioned, that the difficulties attending it are, and I am persuaded ever will be, insurmountable.'"

SECTION II.—Such was the moral and religious state of the black population, and such the opinions entertained with regard to the impossibility of their conversion to God down to a comparatively recent period, and such, in all probability, would they have remained to the present hour, had it not been for the efforts of missionaries from other religious denominations. The first of these were the Moravians, who, in 1754, appointed "Brother Caries and two other missionaries to Jamaica, in compliance with the wishes of some proprietors in one of the country parishes." In 1782, Mr. George Lisle, a black man, the slave of a British officer, and who had been the pastor of a Baptist church in Georgia, in the United States, was brought over by

his master to Kingston, accompanied by his wife and family. He was shortly followed by several members of his church, among whom were Moses Baker, and Messrs. Gibbs and Robinson. By some providential occurrences Mr. Lisle was led to exercise his ministry in Kingston and its environs, in which he was greatly assisted by the above-named brethren.

The Wesleyans began their operations in Jamaica in 1789, under Dr. Coke, who, after preaching in various parts of the island, originated a permanent station in the same populous city, over which he appointed Mr. Hammet. The Baptist Missionary Society directed its efforts to the island in 1813. Their first missionary was Mr. John Rowe, who was sent to co-operate with Moses Baker, at a station called Flamstead, near Falmouth, to which part of the island the latter had been removed.

Great anxiety was manifested by the coloured and black people generally to hear the Gospel, and thousands, hearing, believed to the saving of their souls. Owing, however, to the violent opposition of the white inhabitants, and the successive enactment of laws intended to counteract their efforts, the labours of these servants of God were often suspended, and their flocks scattered like sheep without a shepherd. About the year 1815, the drooping spirits of both ministers and people began again to revive. His Majesty in Council had repeatedly disallowed the persecuting laws of the colonists, and otherwise discountenanced their proceedings, as the result of which open hostility began somewhat to abate. Accordingly, in December of that year,

Mr. Shipman, Wesleyan missionary, obtained a licence from the authorities to preach, although not until after several unsuccessful attempts.

The chapel in Kingston, which had been closed for several years, was now re-opened. Two years afterwards the spirit of hearing had so greatly increased that another chapel in connection with the same body of Christians was opened in another part of the city, and one also at Montego Bay. In the meantime two more missionaries with their wives had been sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society, Messrs. Compere and Coultart, who were accompanied by two pious artisans, Messrs. Tripp and Thurston.

Mr. and Mrs. Compere landed in the latter part of the year 1816, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of Old Harbour Bay, from which they soon after removed to Kingston. In a few months they quitted the island for America, and were succeeded at Kingston by Mr. and Mrs. Coultart. Cessation from open hostility still continuing, the poor people flocked to the houses of God in increasing numbers, and reiterated their entreaties that more missionaries might be sent to them. The committees of the different societies in England, according to their ability, responded to the appeal. The number of missionaries was therefore, from time to time, increased, so that in the year 1824 there were four Moravian stations, occupied by an equal number of missionaries; eight missionaries and stations belonging to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and five stations superintended by an equal number of missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society. Their

labours were now distributed as widely as possible throughout the country, and increasingly interesting and important statements being continually transmitted to the societies at home, agents were successively multiplied, churches were planted, and thousands savingly converted. At various periods during the existence of slavery the dormant spirit of persecution revived, and sometimes with an energy which seemed to threaten the destruction of the missions. But in every instance did the overruling hand of God prevent the accomplishment of its object. The tide of knowledge and religion had begun to flow, and utterly in vain was every attempt to impede its onward progress. A new era had dawned upon Jamaica, and a change was gradually taking place, which, in the short space of about twenty years, has produced results probably unprecedented in any age or country. It recals to our remembrance the events of apostolic times, when superstition burnt her books on the altar of truth, when the idols of the heathen fell, and the throne of Satan trembled. It resembled the introduction of Christianity into Judea, where, when the Jewish priests rejected him who came to them with life and immortality, "the common people heard him gladly." Completely verified was the prediction—"a people whom I have not known shall serve me, as soon as they hear of me they shall obey me, and the strangers shall submit themselves unto me."* "So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed."†

From the hold which superstition had obtained upon

* Psalm xviii., 43, 44. † Acts xix., 20.

the minds of the people, it is but natural to suppose that its eradication would be extremely difficult, as well as a work of time. It has, however, relaxed and disappeared, in proportion to the means which have been employed. Fifteen or twenty years ago, in a negro burying-ground, at no great distance from the author's residence in Spanish Town, there was scarcely a grave that did not exhibit from two to four rudely carved images; and it was a common custom, even for comparatively respectable persons annually to strew the rude tombs with which it abounded with viands, and to pour upon them libations of wine and blood, as offerings to their supposed divinities. Such practices have long been discontinued, and were any to adopt them at the present day it would affix to their characters a stigma which would almost exclude them from the pale of society. In the towns and districts, where the means of moral and religious instruction have been regularly afforded, and that throughout a series of years, very few vestiges of the ancient superstition remain in any form. Like every other species of imposture, superstition has its foundation in ignorance, and in proportion to the diffusion of *sound scriptural knowledge* will the spell be broken, and the enchantment be dissolved. Idolatry, indeed, may be said to be entirely abolished. So little reverence do former deities now inspire that a short time since the author found an idol on the public road. The appearance of such an object three years ago, in such a place, would have created the utmost terror and alarm throughout the neighbourhood, but it was

now either passed by entirely unheeded, or elicited only contempt or sallies of wit from the beholders.*

Instead of the public carnivals and the riotous and obscene processions in the streets once so common on the Sabbath, that sacred day may now be said to be generally hallowed. The Sunday markets are universally abolished, and the appropriate duties and engagements of the Sabbath are more extensively and properly observed than even in England. From the earliest dawn thousands, both young and old, clothed in clean and neat apparel, are seen thronging the streets and roads to and from the house of God and the Sabbath-schools. Such a scene would be delightful under any circumstances, but the more so from the perfect contrast it presents to those so lately witnessed. The throngs which sometimes issue from some of the larger places of worship in the towns are so great as to render the streets in their neighbourhood almost impassable. The whole population, both of the town and suburbs, seems to be in motion, and when going in one direction, resembles a torrent carrying everything before it; those who are married exhibiting the truly civilized and social spectacle of walking arm in arm;—a fact, the narration of which, though in England it may excite a smile, is here noticed on account of its comparative novelty among a people who were

* A black female, after eyeing it intently, thus soliloquized:—"Ah, poor boy, dat de way dem sarve you no? Trow you way now dem no fraid for you again? What make you no trouble dem now like a befo time? Ah! since light come we see you bin make we too much fool, poor ting! light bad ting for you. You no get notin for nyam (eat) now."

lately sunk in the lowest depths of degradation and sin. Such a transformation in the manners and appearance of the people could, a few years ago, scarcely have been imagined by any one acquainted with the then existing state of society.

The number of *places of worship* is greatly multiplied. There are now, as nearly as can be calculated, upwards of fifty regular churches and chapels of ease; about eleven Moravian chapels; two large chapels of the Church of Scotland; twelve in connexion with the Scottish Missionary Society; eleven belonging to the London Society; four or five in connexion with American Congregationalists; eight or nine with native Baptists; seven or eight with the Church Missionary Society; upwards of fifty with the Wesleyan; seven or eight with the Wesleyan Association; and about sixty with the Baptist Missionary Society: making a total of two hundred and twenty-six regular places of worship. Besides these, connected chiefly with the Baptist denomination, are subordinate stations at which divine worship is regularly performed in private houses, in temporary places erected for the purpose, or in negro huts, not to mention the frequency with which service is conducted out of doors, beneath the shade of trees and in temporary sheds. The whole number of places at which the Gospel is occasionally or more regularly preached by regular ministers cannot, on the lowest calculation, be estimated at less than three hundred.

Not only has religion found its way into almost every town and village of importance in the island, but, in a greater or less degree, into the majority of

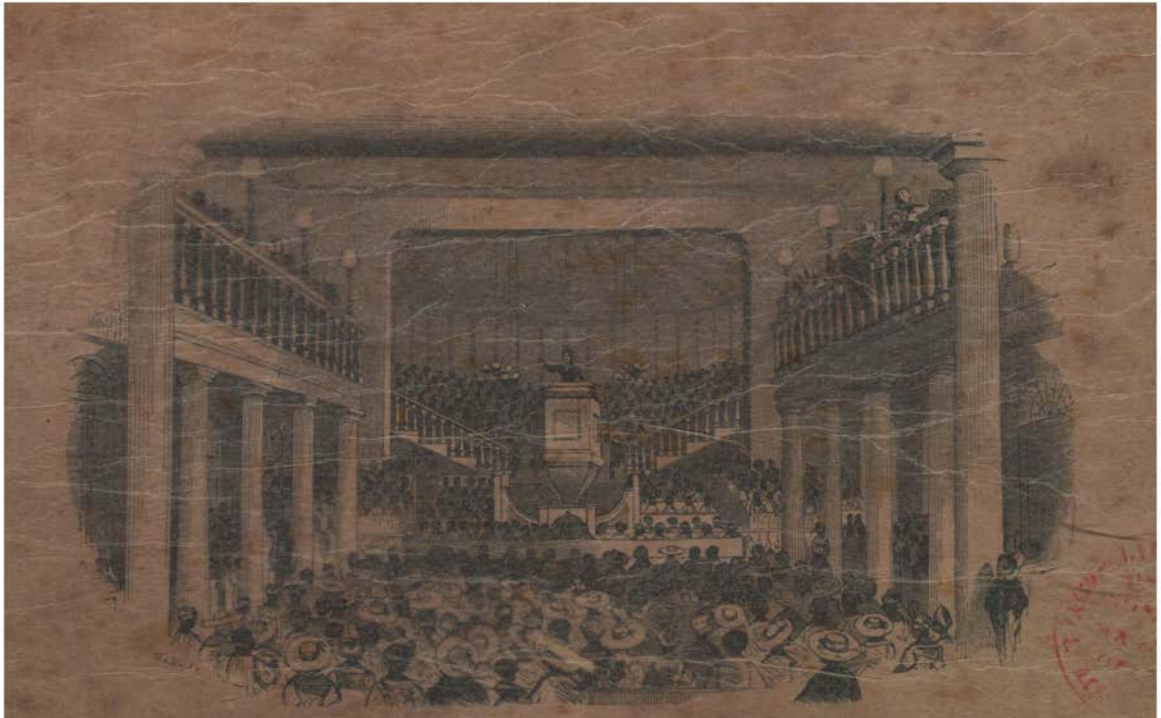
the *estates* and other *larger properties*. As soon as its sacred influence begins to be felt on a property or in a new township, the first work of the converts is to add to their clusters of cottages a house for God. This is done not merely for their own spiritual advantage, but with an especial reference to that of their neighbours and friends. Some of these houses will hold from one hundred and fifty to two and three hundred individuals, and are fitted up with benches and other conveniences similar to regular places of worship. Here an individual of their own colour, duly authorized by the minister to whose church he belongs (and who, since the abolition of slavery, often visits them himself), holds a prayer or class meeting two or three times in the week, and addresses the assembly in the best manner he is able on the things which belong to their peace. In numerous instances, the "praying people" in a particular locality, regarding themselves as one family, flock to these places every morning and evening of the week for domestic devotion. Here they are heard often before the dawn of day and at the latest hour preceding their repose, pouring out their earnest and artless supplications at the throne of grace for strength to enable them to maintain their Christian course. There is scarcely an evening in the week but the song of praise and the voice of prayer, mingling with the same incense from many a family altar and many a secluded closet, is thus arising to heaven from all parts of the land.

"The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other—and the mountain-tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy."

From this description it will be easily conceived that the attendance at all places of worship favoured with an evangelical ministry is astonishingly *great*. The exclamation of the prophet, when wrapt in visions of future days, is here actually realized—"Who are these that fly as a cloud and as doves to their windows?" On Sabbath days most of the churches and chapels, thus privileged, are filled with pious and attentive worshippers. Some of these places, though calculated to hold from one thousand to four thousand hearers, are often crowded. At all the other public means of grace, such as prayer-meetings, and week evening lectures, the same interesting appearances in a corresponding proportion present themselves; to say nothing of those which refer less directly to the great objects of the Christian ministry, such as Church, Bible Class, leaders' meetings, singing, Sunday-school teachers, and Missionary meetings. Some general idea of the attendance on these occasions may be formed from a jubilee meeting lately held at Kettering, in Jamaica, and which is thus described in the 'Baptist Herald:'—"We have this week to record one of the most delightful seasons of joy it has ever been our happiness to witness,—the Jubilee of the Baptist Missionary Society, held at Kettering, in this parish. The vast numbers who attended appear universally to have participated in the pleasures of the day, and we have reason to believe that lasting impressions of good will be the result. When the living mass arose to hymn the praises of the Eternal, the scene was overpowering. The booth, which contained 30,000 super-

ficial feet, being 200 feet long by 150 broad, was literally crammed, and had in it nearly nine thousand persons; sixteen hundred children passed through one of the avenues, singing sweetly, and were at the same time addressed in another part of the village, and a congregation of full two thousand were assembled to hear the truths of the Gospel in another; so that, excluding the number who were yet in the village of Duncan, there were *thirteen thousand* listening to the deeply interesting details of the mission."

The Baptist congregation at Spanish Town, one of the largest connected with Missionary Societies in Jamaica, averages on a Sabbath day two thousand hearers. A prayer-meeting, which has been held for a number of years between the hours of five and six o'clock on the Sabbath morning, has averaged five hundred attendants; as also the Monday evening prayer-meeting and the Thursday evening lecture. The number at Falmouth, under the pastoral care of the Rev. William Knibb, may be said to average two thousand on the Sabbath. At Montego Bay the congregation, recently under the care of the Rev. Thomas Burchell, is said to average on a Sabbath day about two thousand two hundred hearers. Occasionally one thousand people have been known to have been present at these places at an early Sabbath morning prayer-meeting. The usual attendance at East Queen-street, in Kingston, under the pastoral oversight of the Rev. Samuel Oughton, is estimated at two thousand five hundred, and seven hundred are present at the week-day evening services. Equal numbers are



INTERIOR OF THE BAPTIST CHAPEL SPANISH TOWN

supposed to be in regular attendance at two of the Wesleyan chapels in Kingston, under the superintendence of the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson, chairman of the district. These places of worship, which will contain from two thousand five hundred to three thousand five hundred persons each, are often, during the ordinary ministrations of the Gospel, crowded to excess; whilst on particular occasions, such as Missionary or Anti-Slavery Meetings, hundreds have been unable to find admission. In several of the country districts the congregations belonging to different religious bodies are equally flourishing, and some of them almost as large as those previously described. Among the most pleasing circumstances connected with this spirit of hearing is the fact that prayer-meetings are generally well attended, and are not only in many cases the most interesting, but frequently have they been found the most profitable, of all the public means of grace.

Instead of there being, as stated by the historian,* Francis Hanson, in 1805, no "sectarian parsons" on the island, there are now about 120, exclusive of native assistants and catechists (amounting probably to an equal number), who are employed on the Sabbath in carrying on Divine worship at subordinate stations. Wesleyan missionaries, 31; Moravians, 12; Presbyterians, 12; London Missionaries, 11; Congregationalists from America, 5; Native Baptists, 14; Baptist Missionaries, 31. Total 116. The following statement exhibits the progressive increase of ministers of all denominations during a period of ten years, ending

* Vide p. 227.

in 1841. In 1831 the number of ministers connected with the Church of England was 52; of Presbyterians, 4; of Wesleyan Methodists, 16; of Baptist Missionaries, 16; of Moravian Missionaries, 8: total, 96. In 1841, ministers of the above denominations were, of the Church of England, 74; Presbyterians, 13; Wesleyan Methodists, 29; Baptist Missionaries, 27; Moravian Missionaries, 12; total, 155. In addition to these there are the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, ministers of the Wesleyan Missionary Association, and American Congregationalists, who have commenced operations since the first-mentioned period.

SECTION III.—As an additional evidence of the religious transformation which has taken place in this part of the missionary field, let us contemplate the numbers that have been hopefully converted to God since the introduction of the Gospel, together with the multitudes who are just awakened to a concern about their souls, and the change will appear still more surprising and glorious.

In 1842 not less than 23,000 negroes and their descendants are reported as being united in Christian fellowship with the Wesleyans. In the absence of express data on which to ground an accurate calculation with respect to some of the denominations, it may be said that about 5000 are connected with the Moravians, 7000 with the Scottish Missionary Society, about 2000 with the London Missionary Society, 1000 with the

American Congregationalists, 4000 with the Wesleyan Methodist Association, and 30,000 with the Baptist Missionary Society, making an aggregate of 72,000 souls, exclusive of those connected with the Church Missionary Society, and such as are under the care of evangelical clergymen, which will increase the gross amount of real converts to upwards of 100,000, fully one-third of the entire black population of the island. But, in addition to these, let the multitudes that have died since the commencement of missionary operations be taken into the calculation, and estimating the number at the rate of 25 per cent., making allowance for the great mortality of the slave population, and the number cannot be less than 50,000, thus making the grand total of 150,000 souls hopefully turned from the power of Satan unto God, chiefly within the short period of thirty years.

Connected with most of the denominations are persons called respectively inquirers, probationers, and catechumens, most of whom are considered to afford pleasing indications of piety. The number of probationers attached to the Wesleyan denomination may be estimated at 2000; the Moravians, about 2000; Scottish Missionary Society, 2000; the London Missionary Society, 2000; the American Congregationalists, 1000; the Wesleyan Association, 2000; the Church of England and Church Missionary Society, 5000; the Baptists, 21,111, which, with those of other denominations, will make about 50,000. Thus it will be found that the grand total of professing Christians connected with the different denominations in Jamaica,

since the commencement of missionary efforts to the present time, is about 200,000 souls.

Surely at such a recital every pious and benevolent heart must leap for joy, and exclaim with adoring gratitude, "What hath God wrought!" 200,000 souls converted from heathenism and savage darkness to the only true and living God! 200,000 brands plucked from the fire, and multitudes more inquiring the way to Zion with their faces thitherward! Then think of the value of one soul—

> "Behold the midnight glory, worlds on worlds,
> Amazing pomp! Redouble this amaze—
> Ten thousand add, add twice ten thousand more,
> Then weigh the whole; one soul outweighs them all,
> And calls the astonishing magnificence
> Of unintelligent creation poor."

"Such," says a pious writer, "is the importance of one soul, that its salvation, were it the only result of all the Bible, Missionary, Tract, and other religious Societies in the world, all their money, time, labours, prayers, and anxieties, would be well repaid. Nay, had all the combined efforts of these societies been useless up to this hour, still God would approve their aim."

"Who that has right feelings," says Mr. Candler, "can be but thankful for what he sees and witnesses in this interesting land? A people lately dark, superstitious, and ignorant, coming by degrees to the knowledge of the truth, glad to receive religious instruction, and giving proof of their improved habits and conduct, that the Lord, by his good Spirit, is himself their teacher."

The testimony of Joseph J. Gurney, Esq., to the

same important fact, is still more explicit and pertinent. Having adverted to other great improvements that were apparent, he continues:—"But while these points are confessedly of high importance, there is another which at once embraces and outweighs them all—I mean the diffusion of vital Christianity. I know that great apprehensions were entertained, especially in this country, lest, on the cessation of slavery, the negroes should break away at once from their masters and their ministers. But freedom has come, and while their masters have not been forsaken, their religious teachers have become dearer to them than ever. Under the banner of liberty the churches and meeting-houses have been enlarged and multiplied, the attendance has become regular and devout, the congregations have, in many cases, been more than doubled—above all, the conversion of souls (as we have reason to believe) has been going on to an extent never before known in these colonies. In a religious point of view, as I have before hinted, the wilderness in many places has indeed begun to 'blossom as the rose;' 'instead of the thorn,' *has* 'come up the fir-tree, and instead of the briar, *has* come up the myrtle-tree;' and it shall be to the *Lord* for a name—for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off."

In another part of his journal Mr. Candler remarks, "The Baptists are more numerous as a religious body than any other, and have by far the greatest influence over the minds of the people in matters of every kind. There are 20* Baptist missionaries here, having among

* See Note, p. 296.

them 73 congregational stations, which, from the great distance some of them lie from each other, considered individually, cannot receive 'a pastor's Sabbath-care' more than once in three weeks. Public worship is kept up, however, at most of these stations; and when the stated minister is absent, the schoolmaster officiates, or the leaders hold what they call a prayer-meeting. Attached to these stations are 21,777 church members, and 21,111 inquirers who are seeking admission to membership; they have also 9159 recorded Sabbath-scholars; their numbers, added together, amounting in all to 52,047, show us the number of what may be termed the more constant attenders of Baptist chapels; but if we include others belonging to the religious body who do attend, and the aged, the sick, and children who do not attend, we shall swell the number to perhaps 100,000, or a fourth part of the whole population. Several of these congregations are very large, filling chapels that hold 2000, 3000, and even 4000 people. It will be seen how impossible it is for the missionaries, under these circumstances, to exercise anything like pastoral family oversight, or to know much of the individuals who place themselves under their care: this deficiency the Baptists and Wesleyan Methodists endeavour to supply by class leaders. The denomination called Native Baptists are under the teaching of black and coloured men, who were once leaders in other congregations, but have broken off and set up as ministers for themselves. Their number is said to be 8000, assembling at 25 different stations, the ministers 14. The Wesleyan Methodists have among them 31 mission-

aries, a large number of stations, 23,822 members and probationers, and 2664 Sabbath-scholars; their total numbers may be supposed to comprise 40,000 people; and if we add the late seceding missionaries and their congregations, which already comprise about 4000 actual members, we may consider the Methodist body to be 50,000. The Moravian missionaries are 10, each attached to a separate congregation of, perhaps, on an average, 700 people, but I should hardly think so many: take their number at 7000. The Presbyterian missionaries are 10, with 6 catechists and teachers; each missionary, as in the case of the Moravians, having, with but little exception, a separate station of ministerial labour: the number belonging to this class I would estimate at 7000. The London Missionary Society has 8 missionaries, superintending 12 congregations, none of them very large: their number is probably about 8000. The Oberlin Institute furnishes 5 missionaries, who have, perhaps, 3000 people; making the Independents or Congregationalists altogether about 11,000. The Church of Scotland has two large chapels, one at Kingston, the other at Falmouth, with, perhaps, 2000 members.

"We have thus a total of 185,000 dissenters from the Established Church in Jamaica, who may be said to be living under some religious care; the remainder of the people, amounting to 220,000, either belong to no religious denomination whatever, and attend no place of public worship, or rank as belonging to the Establishment. The Church Missionary Society has 8 missionaries here, 11 catechists who are schoolmasters, and 6 assistant teachers. Allow this body of re-

ligious instructors 4000, or perhaps we may say 6000, and the fifty Episcopal churches and chapels 800 each on the average, we give the Church of England 46,000 members. The Jews are 5000, and the Roman Catholics 1000. Let us recapitulate:—Baptists, 108,000; Methodists, 50,000; Moravians, 7000; Presbyterians, 7000; Congregationalists, 11,000; Established Church, 46,000; Jews, 5000; Roman Catholics, 1000—total, 237,000; leaving a population of at least 163,000 who have neither schools nor religious instruction of any kind."*

From these statements it will appear that many individual churches are very large compared with churches in England. The most numerous are among the Wesleyans and Baptists, and are found in the principal towns. The number of Wesleyan communicants, meeting in their chapel at Montego Bay, is (as given in their report for 1842) 1255; of Baptists, lately under the pastoral care of the Rev. Thomas Burchell, 1657; the number in church fellowship at the Wesleyan chapel at Falmouth is 1983; that of the Baptist chapel, 1894. The total number of members in society among the Wesleyans, meeting in their chapel in Spanish Town, is about 1884; the Baptist church at the same place contains 2680. The church meeting at Coke chapel, Kingston (Wesleyan), contains 5149 members; the Baptist church at East Queen-street, in the same city, 3959; and so on in proportion throughout all the stations in the island.

* This estimate was made in 1840. Many of the churches and congregations have considerably increased in number since that period. Ministers also have been multiplied.

Among the Wesleyans and other denominations, applicants for church-fellowship are usually received individually as they offer themselves, or are found to possess the requisite qualifications. Among the Baptists, although each individual previously undergoes a rigid examination, members are often added by 100 and upwards at one time. In some cases 200 persons have been added to a single church in one day; 400 were once added in one year to the church at Spanish Town; and at Brown's Town and Bethany, in St. Anne's, as many as 700 and upwards were baptized and received into fellowship during the same space of time. In some of the larger churches the additions have averaged 200 each for several years past. The clear increase of members to the Wesleyan and Moravian churches since 1823, or during the last twenty years, the writer is unable to ascertain, but the number added to the Baptist churches within that period, exclusively of decrease by exclusions and deaths, has been little short of 27,000, thus averaging, since the year 1823, a clear increase of 1350 per annum. The following table will show the progressive rate of increase since 1835, with other particulars:—

Year.	Baptized.	Restored.	Excluded.	Marriages.
1835	2606	210	156	1468
1836	2950	205	213	881
1837	2120	283	296	705
1838	2874	352	267	1942
1839	3457	161	541	1614
1840	4684	420	461	1256
1841				
1842	2659	340	777	496

Nor is the cause advancing less rapidly at the present time. Never before indeed have the missionaries in Jamaica been blessed with a fairer and brighter prospect. The clear increase of the Baptist churches alone for the year just closed is 2309, and multitudes have crowded to fill up the ranks of inquirers vacated by those who had succeeded to a more close and holy fellowship. God not only seems to be going with his servants, but to have gone before them. Wherever they direct their operations they find an open door; wherever they stand up, beneath a tree, beneath a shed, in a negro hut, or in a chapel, they are sure to be surrounded by listening multitudes. A holy influence is evidently breathed upon the people, creating a hungering and thirsting after the bread and water of life, which nothing but the Spirit of God can satisfy. In every direction are the people calling for the messengers of salvation, and whenever they see them coming from afar, they seem exultingly to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings—that publisheth peace—that bringeth good tidings of good—that publisheth salvation!"

Of this general eagerness to hear the Gospel it is unnecessary to furnish more than one or two instances. The first is an application made to the author by a poor black man, on behalf of himself and others, who had been for some time deprived of the means of Christian instruction, and the other is a communication from a medical gentleman to a friend in England.

"*To the Rev. Mr. Phillippo.*

"*3rd May*, 1841.

"My Dear Minister—I have now to Right, and beg you to assist us, as now we are Sheep without a Shepherd, and we will be glad to have you, my Dear Minister, to enclose us again as so much sheep that have gone astray, by having no Pastor. So by our free will we shall be much thankful to my Dear Minister if you will come amongst us, that we may carry on God's work once more again, and satisfy we hungry soul; and we request the chapple to be regester for the Baptist Missionary Society. The name of the place is Content.

"Signed on behalf of the family,

"John Duglass."

"During the Lord's day I spent at Sligoville, a party of people came from a distance to beg of Mr. P. to go to take possession of a chapel belonging to some Native Baptists who could not get on alone. These people, about six in number, came the Sunday previous. They had applied many times during twelve months to get Mr. P. to go, but he refused, on account of the distance and his own numerous engagements. This time they determined not to go without getting him to comply with their request. Mr. P. was from home, but here they remained until he returned, which was not until the following Sunday evening.

"He again excused himself, but they would hear nothing of it; they were sure if minister would come

he would do them good; and they sat themselves down on the grass, determined not to go till he consented. They continued urging their request until he promised to visit them. It was now Monday, and Mr. P. offered to go on the following Wednesday. They were satisfied, and the whole of them started home directly to carry the news. Mr. P. invited me to accompany him, and early on the appointed morning we set off, with another medical man, to the place called the 'Above Rocks,' in St. Thomas's in the Vale. It was a magnificent ride. It could only be accomplished on horseback, as it was in some places so steep as to require us to dismount and lead our horses, while in other parts it was a steep mountain pass about two feet wide, with a mountain on one side and a tremendous precipice on the other. We came, after a ride of twenty miles, to the district where these poor people resided, which was very populous, appearing to be estates thrown up and bought in small lots by the people. All was in beautiful cultivation; there were no signs here of the predicted barbarism; the entire valley was like a panorama.

"The ground was very undulatory, and covered as far as the eye could reach with plantains, bananas, yams, cocoa-nuts, with huts and houses. A guide met us about three miles from our destination, and at length we arrived at a hut prepared for us, the people all anxiously waiting our coming. We begged some yam, as we had come a long ride without any provisions. Three or four set to work, lighted a fire, killed a chicken, and as soon as possible brought it to table,

with a plenty of cocoa, yams, plantains, and other things. A box was at the window, in which some bees were at work, and while we were looking and praising the man for his contrivance, he said he thought ministers and doctors would like some honey; so without any ceremony he took this primitive bee-hive into the open air, and abstracted the honey regardless of the stings of hundreds of the bees who swarmed upon him. We finished our repast, and went to the chapel, which resembled a barn in England, with a few seats in it. Many people came, though it was in the middle of the day. A short service was held, and an arrangement made for preaching once a fortnight. The field is a very fine one for a zealous missionary, containing, it is supposed, 10,000 inhabitants. The people are literally hungering and thirsting after righteousness; they have been endeavouring to carry on the service of God among themselves because they were unable to obtain other instruction, but they have at length made an effort which will prove to their advantage."

From this wonderful concurrence of animating circumstances, and the co-operation of other favourable events, *how bright and glorious becomes the prospect of the future!* But the most interesting feature by which that prospect is distinguished, so far at least as human instrumentality is concerned, is that which regards the employment of native labourers, many of whom, possessing zeal, talent, and piety, are now rising up in our churches. Irrespective of other advantages, it is almost impossible to conceive how much such an

agency will contribute to the general diffusion of knowledge and religion, especially with that training which they are about to receive in the theological institution now founded by the Baptist missionaries, in connexion with the parent society.

And not only so, but the importance of Jamaica as a field of missionary operations is not to be determined by prospects confined to its own shores. It is to be estimated by its relative and geographical position. It is to be viewed in reference to the influence it may exert on the neighbouring islands and continent. And for this purpose how commanding, and in every way how advantageous, is its situation! In the midst of the Caribbean Sea—but a few days sail from the vast continent of South America and the confederated states of the Mexican Union on the one hand, and Cuba, Puerto Rico, St. Domingo, and the whole of the western archipelago on the other,—in the very centre of a population estimated at 20,000,000 of human beings, all literally perishing for lack of knowledge.

What may Jamaica ultimately prove to them if British Christians aid her in the enterprise? She might prove to them what Britain has been to her—a depôt of the word of life—a centre of heavenly light—the chief instrument of their political, intellectual, social, moral, and religious renovation. By what means?—By qualifying and sending forth her own sons as missionaries.

Jamaica might indeed become spiritually what she is politically—the key-stone to the possession of the New World—a kind of rallying post for the army of

the living God, in its efforts to subjugate the whole continent of South America to the "obedience of faith."

Nor do the missionaries bound their expectations with reference to the influence of Jamaica as a field of missionary triumph even by the shores of the south and the west. The day of jubilee has come, and arrangements are already made for sending back her long exiled sons to the land of their *fathers*, that they may assist in diffusing throughout the African continent the blessings of wisdom and of the "fear of the Lord."

In a word, who can tell but that by such instrumentality (for it often happens that those whom God intends to honour he usually prepares for it by severe discipline)—who can tell but that, as if in some measure compensative of her wrongs, it is not the determination of Infinite Wisdom to reserve for Africa the honour and the glory of ushering in the millennium?—"for there are first that shall be last, and there are last that shall be first."

Who can tell but that we even now behold the dawn of the coming day, when the bright "bow of Christianity, commencing in the heavens and encompassing the earth, shall include the children of every clime and colour beneath the arch of its promise and the glory of its protection?"

Inspired at the thought of such a glorious consummation, who will not supplicate, and in the devotion of his heart pray—

"O thou who in ancient times didst send forth thy

Seraphim to touch as with a live coal from thine altar thine own consecrated prophet to perfect and purify him for his high mission, send down upon us all thy heavenly influence—baptise us with the Holy Ghost, that thy ministers may be as flames of fire—that thy churches may catch the missionary flame—that it may burn till the whole earth shall reflect its splendour, and with all her melody of tongues proclaim the Tabernacle of God is with Men!"

CHAPTER XVI.

RELIGIOUS STATE, *continued.*

SECT. I.—Presumptive Evidences of the actual Piety of Jamaica Churches—Character of the Missionaries—Nature and Extent of Scriptural Knowledge possessed by Candidates for Church-fellowship—By Members in general—Manner of Admitting Members—Great Christian Principle and Feeling manifested by them.

SECT. II.—Description of Inquirers and Catechumens—Nature and Objects of their Connexion with the different Denominations—Usual Term of Probation among Baptists for Church-fellowship—Average Number of Exclusions—Intimate Knowledge possessed by Ministers of the State of their Churches—Discipline, Faithfulness, and Impartiality of its Administration — Christian Consistency of Members — Testimonies — Investigation of Cases of alleged Delinquency — Church Meetings — Members' Knowledge of Scriptural Discipline—Distinguished Prevalence of a Spirit of Prayer—Piety and Fervour of Social Exercises.

SECT. III.—Sacrifices made by Members, of Time, Comfort, Property, and Freedom—Persecution—Martyrdom—Spirit exemplified under these circumstances.

SECT. IV.—Love of Converts towards each other—How displayed—Charity in the Treatment of Offences — Attention to Poor and Afflicted—Mutual esteem—Love for the Service of God's House—Attendance on the Means of Grace—Regard for the Interests of Zion generally—Attachment to their Ministers—Astonishing changes in Individual Characters.

SECT. V.—Zeal of Jamaica Christians—Their Liberality—Their great Personal and Individual Exertions—Class and Ticket System—Its Operation in Furtherance of the Gospel—Great Self-devotion of many of the Members of the Churches—Astonishing Effects produced by their Individual Labours.

SECT. VI.—Experience and Conduct of Members in general in seasons of calamity—On Beds of Sickness and Death—Their anxious Concern for the Welfare of the Churches to which they belong, and for the general Interests of Religion—Numerous Instances of Happy and Triumphant Deaths of Adults and Sunday-school Children.

SECTION I.—Unaccustomed, as the Church has been, to such enlarged success, it is not surprising that doubts should have arisen whether the numbers thus represented as united to Christ and to his people were *really* the subjects of *converting grace*. As it is not the prerogative of missionaries, any more than that of other men, to know the heart, it would be impossible to return a decided answer in the affirmative. They can only express a hope that the Christian public will give them credit for being what they profess to be—"Men of God." "Anxious to save themselves and those that hear them, in all things endeavouring to show themselves patterns of good works; in doctrine, showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned." Aware of the awful responsibilities of their office, and anxious, as their highest aim, to promote the glory of their God and Saviour, they trust that they would rather spend their days in sowing the seed of the Divine word, uncheered by the sight of a single blade, than crowd the field with noxious tares: the more so as, independently of the higher concerns of the soul, they will be, to a considerable degree, answerable for all the reproach which unworthy converts might bring upon the Redeemer's name. Under such circumstances, and in the prospect of that day when they shall have to give

an account of their stewardship to their great Lord and Master (a period that often appears before them in all its awful solemnity and importance), it is not too much to ask to be believed when they affirm, that they have received none into communion with the churches of which they have had the oversight but those whom they had reason to hope were "approved of Christ;" nor retained any in connexion with them who afforded evidence of inconsistent and unholy lives. The admission of members to the churches in Jamaica has, the author is persuaded, been an object of as great and unremitting care to missionaries of all denominations as to ministers and churches in England. Had it not been thus, he has no hesitation in asserting, especially with regard to the Baptists, that their numbers would have been more than doubled. The latter body has always had connected with them a number of individuals denominated inquirers, and who have generally amounted to at least one-third of the communicants. These would have been glad to have advanced at once to the privileges of members; but have been retained as inquirers for twelve months or upwards, to afford evidence of a spiritual change by their daily walk and conversation. There are, however, certain presumptive evidences of piety by which we may judge of the validity of a Christian profession, and which we hesitate not to apply to the Christians of Jamaica.

The most untutored of those who have enjoyed the advantages of Christian instruction for any length of time, have a correct, if not an extensive, knowledge of the great and essential doctrines of the Gospel—of

the proper Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit —the depravity of human nature—the plan of salvation, and the necessity of Divine influence to regenerate the heart: indeed, the knowledge of these fundamental truths is absolutely necessary to admission into the churches. In districts where the Gospel has been long and faithfully preached, the greater part of the candidates, to a greater or less degree, have a tolerably correct idea of the nature and attributes of God, and of the doctrines and duties of Christianity in general. The truth of these assertions the following dialogues and anecdotes, in addition to numbers of a similar kind that have been already before the public in missionary periodicals, will sufficiently attest. The replies given by one of the middle-class of country people at a church-meeting at Spanish Town may be regarded as a fair specimen of the knowledge and experience of the peasantry in general throughout the district. According to constant practice, the individual was interrogated by the pastor of the church and members indiscriminately, who were assembled at a church meeting :—

Minister. Well, Thomas, do you know who Jesus Christ is ?

Candidate. Him de Son of God, minister.

M. What did Jesus Christ come into the world to do ?

C. Him come to save poor sinners.

M. Do you think he is *able* to save sinners ?

C. Me *know* him able.

M. How can you know that he is able to save them ?

C. Because him make de world: and if him make de world, him able to do all tings: and minister no tell we often-time dis make him left him fader trone, and come into dis sinful world.

M. What is it necessary for us to know and feel before we can love and serve God as we ought?

C. We must know and feel truly dat me is great sinner—never do one ting good since me born—before me can sarve God in a right manner.

M. God's holy word says—"Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." What is meant by being born again?

C. It mean a new heart, minister.

M. Do you think you have got a new heart?

C. Me hope so.

M. What makes you think you have?

C. Because what me bin love before, me hate now; and what me hate before, me love now. Once me love to do devil's work—blaspheme, carouse, and do all wicked tings: now me love precious Massa Jesus, who pill him precious blood for me, poo dyin' sinner.

M. How was it that you came to give up your wicked ways?

C. Me heary minister preach sometime, and me tink some person tell minister false upon me, and me get vex; bine by, sick take me, and broder and sister come talk to me, and pray for me, and make me promise, if God so good, make me raise up again, me give up me heart to precious Massa Jesus; den me tink upon what minister and broder and sister say, and beg God to have mercy on me poor soul.

M. Are you ever tempted to turn back again into the world?

C. Massa, debil too busy: him some time full up my heart wid all bad thoughts; him no lub for see poor somebody like a me sarve Massa Jesus good, none at all.

M. But when you are tempted to forsake Christ by turning back again into the world, what do you do?

C. Minister, me heart run to precious Massa Jesus, like piccanniny run to him mamma before time in a Africa, when white man come make we slave.

M. Then you would not like to forsake your Lord and Saviour?

C. O me, minister! If me turn from me blessed Jesus, den where me go?—(looking up to heaven, and the tears filling his eyes, he exclaimed, with all the energy he could summon, for tears had almost choked his utterance)—forsake me precious Massa Jesus! no, no; me pray him make me *dead* first! Turn from Massa Jesus! No; him too good to me poo' sinner. Me only 'fraid precious blessed Jesus turn away from me! But him promise; and me hold upon de promise.

M. What makes you wish to be baptized?

C. Because Jesus Christ, put under the water, rise up again, and me wish to pattern after him.

M. Perhaps you think the water will wash away your sin?

C. No, no; water no wash away me sin: nothin' but precious Massa Jesus blood wash away me sin.

M. Why do you wish to partake of the sacrament?

C. Because me heart crave much to member Massa Jesus, like me broder and sister, how him dead and pill him blood for we. While me tan so,—look upon me broder and sister when dem setten down take de supper, me heart fret; me seems like me tranger, no belong to God family like a dem.

M. You don't think you will have nothing more to do, and that the devil will not tempt you any more, if you should be received into the church?

C. No, me sweet minister. Devil and me own heart strive more against me den, because dem much vex me make de world know me no belong to dem again.

Questions by two or three of the members:—

Mem. Well, my friend, me hear what answer you give to minister; but make me ax you one or two question. Who you say Jesus Christ is, and what him come into this world to do?

A. Jesus Christ is God's son. Him come into de world to save sinners.

Q. Who is the Holy Spirit, and what does the Holy Spirit do for you?

A. The Holy Spirit is God too; and him change me sinful heart, make me fit for heaven.

Q. Is there more than one God?

A. No; three persons and one God.

Q. Who are they?

A. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Q. What is your greatest enemy?

A. Me own heart.

Q. What do you mean to do with your heart?

A. Keep on pray to God to soften it.

Another. You say you began to think about your soul, and cry to God when you sick: suppose you had died in your sin, what would have become of you?

A. If me dead in me sin, me gone to hell.

Third. You know, broder, I know you long time; know you to bin before time very passionate, and if any person do any ting to you, you begin to fight and blaspheme. Suppose any one know you to come to the Gospel, try to vex and strike you, what you do?

A. Me do so (putting his hands behind him), and me look up, pray to God to make me forgive him and to change him heart, make him love God too.

Another. Suppose any one should offer you a great sum of money to forsake Christ, would you do it?

C. No; me love Massa Jesus more: what money can do for me when me heart grieve? when me sick, and when me dead? God book say, "What profit a man have if him gain de world and lose him own soul."

This candidate having withdrawn, inquiries were made of the friends present who resided near him, as to his walk and conversation, since he had become an inquirer; the answers to which being deemed satisfactory, a few more questions were put to him, as to his willingness to conform to the rules of the church, should he be received as a member, together with a statement of the duties he would be expected to discharge towards the cause of Christ in general; after which the minister signified his approval of him, on behalf of the church. From that time to the present, embracing a period of two years, his conduct has been that of a pious and devoted follower of Christ.

The following is an extract of a letter addressed to the author, by a pious lady, the wife of a captain in the army. The individual whose christian experience it records is a respectable female of colour, who has been for many years the leader of a class of females connected with the Baptist Church at Spanish Town,—an office filled by others equally enlightened and devoted—and has been a most valuable helper in that capacity in the work of God. As this will give an idea of the character and qualifications of some of our leaders or helpers, no apology perhaps will be deemed necessary for its insertion.

"My dear Friend,—I feel most anxious to communicate my thoughts to you on a subject that I know is both near and dear to your heart—I mean the conversion of a sinner. I refer to Miss ——, who has given me an account of the Lord's merciful dealings with her, which I here subjoin. After stating the circumstances which led to her first attending upon the means of grace, this new trophy of redeeming love thus continues her narrative to me:—'I went to chapel again on the following sabbath; the text was from the 22nd chapter of St. Matthew, our Lord's parable of the marriage of the king's son. And when the minister explained to us who they were who would not go to the marriage feast, and what kind of a character the man was "who had not on a wedding garment," I said to myself, this is exactly my state: do I not content myself with the form of religion, without the power of divine grace on my soul? Alas! what

do I know of true holiness? I am as ignorant as the beast that perisheth: and he appeared so perfectly to describe my state that I went home quite miserable. I went to bed, but could not sleep; I felt myself a condemned sinner, and the more I looked back on my past life the more I saw my sinfulness and vileness. I continued in this unhappy state till Sunday. I went again to chapel. The minister preached from the 125th Psalm, which appeared to lay my heart quite bare before my eyes, and let me see my every secret sin; but he led me to the Saviour, and a hope sprang up in my mind that Jesus would be also *my Saviour*. He referred us to different chapters in the Bible, which he advised us to read on our return home, and judge for ourselves. I did as he desired, and a peace took possession of my mind that I had never experienced before. I went on my knees to pray, and I felt a hope that God was reconciled to me through Christ, and that same blessed hope has never since forsaken me. I feel my ignorance very much, never having mixed with any religious people; but I now read my Bible every day, with prayer, and I feel already increasing in knowledge, that I hope I may soon be able to instruct others. O! that I could do anything to glorify God! You know not how it pains me when I look back on my past life, and see how I have dishonoured so kind, such a long-suffering and merciful Lord God! I am grieved and shocked at my ingratitude; but I trust the remainder of my life will be spent differently—indeed I wish to be led by the spirit of God, as a child by its mother: when I hear so many of the

poor blacks pray in chapel so sweetly, I feel quite ashamed of myself. My friends and old acquaintances often ask me what has happened to me, if I have been sick or from home? I am afraid to go near them, lest they should draw me aside. I only now mix with God's people, to try to improve in the knowledge of God; for what would it profit me if I gained the whole world and was to lose my own soul?—but I would not turn back for the world. No: ten thousand worlds would be a poor compensation for the loss of my immortal soul! And I feel more real happiness now than I ever did in my life.'

"Such is the substance of ——'s interesting conversation with me; and as I know it would afford you a subject for thankfulness to the tri-une God, I have thought it right to tell you of it, as a means of strengthening your hands, and encouraging your heart. And that the Lord may give you many more souls for your hire is the earnest prayer of,

"Your affectionate friend in the best of bonds,

"B. T——."

The following conversation is of a different kind, though in some respects of equal value and importance. It took place some time since between an aged deacon of the church at Spanish Town, the owner of a small coffee plantation, and an overseer on one of the estates, and was related to the author on the following day. The estate had for many years been the scene of this good man's pious and useful labours. Going past the residence of the overseer, who was enter-

taining a number of his companions, on a particular occasion, he was requested to enter the room where all were assembled, and was thus accosted:—

Overseer. Well, sir, I am told you are a preacher?

Deacon. I hope I am a praying man, sir: perhaps that is what you mean; as white people often call praying preaching.

O. No; I mean that you take a book and preach to the people out of it.

D. How can I preach from a book when I dont able to read? Massa tink me dont know better than to make fool of meself, take a book and preach, when all de people too know me cant read?

O. Well; I don't know what you call it. Don't you say prayers to the people, or talk to them, or something?

D. Yes; I talk to my neighbour and friend, truly, and I am not ashamed of it neider. Religion do good to *me*, make *me* happy; and I wants my fellow-creature to feel happy too.

O. Well, then, you are a preacher.

D. Massa can call me what him like; me satisfy; but me mouth cant shut; me must pray and talk for God as long as me have breath.

O. Oh, I see: perhaps you could preach to us, although you don't know a letter of the book. Who betrayed Jesus Christ?—for, as you are a preacher, you must know.—(jestingly.)

D. Judas betrayed the Lord Jesus Christ for thirty pieces of silver.

O. Oh, I didn't know that you knew. Well, but whose wife did David take away?

D. Uriah wife, Barsheba.

O. Where did Uriah find his wife?

D. In David's house.

O. How can that be, when Uriah was slain?

D. Beg massa pardon, but Uriah was not slain till David put him to the fore front of the battle.

O. Was David a good man?

D. Yes; a man after God's own heart.

O. What! after he committed murder? Then that shows that God approved of what David did; and your parsons are always sending people to ——, who don't do half what he did.

D. Ah, massa! you read God's word and believe that? When David sin, him fall; and when him once fall, him do but anything; but though God love David, him dont love David's sin. Massa say him read de Bible. Suppose massa look into de Bible now, him find God so angry wid David, because him sin, dat he sent to know de tree ting him will choose, and den allow him son to drive him from de trone.

* * * * * *

O. O, I see very well that you are a preacher, and I must say, I did not think you knew so much; but you had better not fill the people's heads with these things; they begin to know too much already.

D. Massa, God's word is good, and I bin say to massa before time me must tell me fellow creatur what good religion done for me; for if it good for me it good for dem, and God's word say me must not let me broder and sister alone, but must try and bring dem all to Jesus Christ, dat dem blood no rest upon me head in the last day.

Observes a missionary, writing to the author during the insurrection in 1832, "Our poor people are very much annoyed by the officers of militia. The following is a conversation which passed between one of them and a member of our church, a sergeant in the regiment.

Officer. So you are a praying man; when we go on detachment I will put you in the front; I will take care of you.

Native. I may be as well off in the front as in the rear, sir.

O. Well, I tell you beforehand, I will take you to blow all these ministers' brains out.

N. Are de minister guilty, den, sir?

O. To be sure they are.

N. Don't de law of we country say every man is innocent until him found guilty? If dem try and condemn already, den it will be time enough to blow dem brain out. You prosecute we minister too much because you don't like we to get no larnin.

O. Oh, oh! But, as an honest man, answer me one question. Don't these ministers teach the people to rob their owners in order to give to them? Answer me at once.

N. No, sir. If dem did, we should know it not right, and would have nothing to do with them. Don't I and plenty more have sarvant weself? should we uphold minister tellen de people to rob dem master?

O. But as you are a leader, don't you get money for preaching?

N. No, I do not, sir.

O. Then you have a better heart than I have; but why do you teach the people?

N. Because it is my duty.

O. Well, I will never believe you would labour with the people without you got something by it.

N. If massa help a poor person horse out a gully (*ditch*) when him fall in, and like to drown, would massa want pay for it? An' dont man worth more dan a beast?

O. But what makes you pray?

N. Because I am a sinner.

O. I suppose you found that out when you were converted.

N. I was convinced before I was converted, sir, and then I prayed to God.

O. What do you mean by sin?

N. There is two kinds of sin,—original sin and actual sin. I mean, I myself have broken God's laws, and derefore I pray to God for forgiveness through Jesus Christ.

O. What do you mean by original sin?

N. The sin of our first parents. But please to let me ask if you don't pray to God?

O. Yes; but you pray too much.

N. No; God tell we to pray always and not to faint. But please let me ask you another question. Don't you call God your father in the Prayer Book? What ungrateful children we be if we don't obey our Father's command; an if we acknowledge Him to be our King how shameful not to be loyal to him. But I can account for it.

O. How? how?

N. Because de scripture say de carnal mind is enmity

against God, not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. And if de spirit of God don't teach we, we is dark and ignorant people, dow we know plenty a tings else.

O. What do you mean by the Spirit? the spirit of rum?

N. O fie, sir. You call yourself a Christian, and make a mock at spiritual tings?

O. What else do you mean by the *spirit?* did you ever see it?

N. It is felt, sir, but not seen.

O. How do you know if there is such a thing if you never saw it?

N. Don't you say, sir, dat a man have a good spirit if him do anyting wordy of praise, but you never see dat spirit? You believe you have souls, but you never see dat soul. An, sir, would a blind man say him wouldn't eat because him don't able to see de vittel?"

After a few questions more, which are too indecent to meet the public eye, the correspondent adds, "thus ends the conversation. I have sent it to you as the poor man related it to me, not doubting but it would be interesting to you to know the manner in which our poor Christian blacks are enabled to stand their ground before their accusers."

I felt much happiness, said the late excellent Missionary, Mr. Coultart, in hearing the simple narratives of the people. One of them, a woman, said, "Ah, massa, me tongue so guilty, all bad word, me no ready to peak good in same mout; me great sinner, and never tink bout anyting good till me hear a

broder read; if me no born again me no see kingdom of God. Me don't know what dis *born again* mean—it trouble me much,—it no let me rest,—none at all. Next night broder come read again; de word trouble me more and more; me no eat, no shut me eye, fear me open it in hell. Next day me send for de broder to come wid de book; him come and read; de book no tell me trouble any more; him tell me Jesus came to save sinner, great sinner, no matter how great, so me go to him; him forgive all:—not for me goodness, but for him own goodness,—den me weep much, for Jesus Christ so good; me no able to do nothing for long time, but tell of him kindness to poor me." When another first went to work on the estate to which she belonged, her owner asked her if she prayed? "Yes," was her reply. "O, that is bad," he said; "you will spoil all my negroes. Your religion is a nasty thing, you must not spread it here!" "O, massa," she replied, "religion no a bad ting; if your negro love God in him heart, him find someting else to do than tief (steal) your fowl and your sugar; *religion a good ting when neger heb plenty of it.*"

I asked a female negro whether she felt any sin now her heart was changed. Her reply was, "it trouble me too much—it tick to me, massa, as close as de clothes to me back." To another poor woman who was complaining much of the discouragements she met with, I said, "Well, how do you hope to get through them all to heaven? You say you are weak." "Yes, me weak for true, massa; but me hang on him arm. Jesus can help—an, massa, him promise."

A letter from a missionary contains the following pleasing anecdote :—

"Three nights ago, a man of decent appearance came to relate what he thought of himself and of the Saviour; said he had been living for himself, and 'neider did know or think anyting about God.' The greatest part of his time he had lived in Kingston, and, changing masters frequently, he had, as is the custom in this colony, changed his old name with his old master, the last of whom wished him to become a Christian. He asked a friend who belonged to the Baptists to *stand* for him, but he refused and asked him to think what sort of a Christian man could make him: 'As for him, he no know man's Christian, him only know Christian God make.' This puzzled the poor man, who thought something in *right Christian* 'him no know; him made a Christian, but him still go on in him old way, for him no know him doing wrong.' Here I interrupted him to learn the force of conscience, in the way Paul states it with regard to the heathen. I said, 'James, you say you did not know God; you no hear anyting about him. When you do sin, you no know it sin? Conscience within no tell you dat bad; God angry for dat?' He said, 'Yes, conscience tell me, and trouble me much; but nevertheless me no heed conscience much.' William, the friend—the faithful friend—as he termed him, 'courted him to a little prayer-meeting conducted by themselves, *and dere God catch him poor run away!* He see Jesus love him, poor ting, an him want to love Jesus, and keep his commands.' I asked him who

persuaded him to be baptized? 'William make him hear what Jesus say, Believe and be baptize. Now him believe Jesus to be the Son of God, and only Saviour, an him wish to gie himself quite up to Jesus, an take Jesus for him tick (staff) to lean upon till him last day on earth.' "

In further illustration of the sound scriptural knowledge possessed by members of Christian churches in Jamaica, and as a proof that their thinking powers are deeply exercised on these all-engrossing subjects, it may be stated that applications are frequently made by individual members for the meaning of particular passages of scripture, which have created discussion in their social meetings or public places of business. Nor is it unusual for the people to request their ministers to preach on some particular subjects respecting which information is extensively sought. A black female requested the author, a short time before he left the island, to preach on the unpardonable sin, saying, if minister pleased, herself and several more would like much to hear about it, as they had forgotten what minister had said about it some time ago.

Some years since, the friends at Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, kindly presented to the congregation at Spanish Town, a bible and hymn books for the use of the pulpit. The subjoined letters of thanks addressed to the kind donors, by two members of the church, *leaders*, one of whom was a free woman of colour, and the other a young man then a slave, will equally illustrate the simplicity and fervour of negro piety, as well as

its evangelical character, and the degree in which it is possessed.

"My dear Christian Friends,—The reception of your kind and truly invaluable present is as highly estimated as the preciousness of such a gift ought to be. May the wish and power of dispensing the salutary comforts and consolations it contains be equally yours!

"Its precious contents will, I hope and doubt not, be the means of bringing home many a lost and wandering sheep in this dark land, and converting many repentant sinners to the flock of Christ. In it alone do we look for consolation from all the evils that surround us in this wicked world. There the sinner will find a pardon for his sins, which will not be sought for in vain; it will be found to speak peace to the troubled mind, consolation to the broken spirit, and blessing and happiness to the stedfast in faith, a stream of milk and honey flowing richly into every heart, which shall come to drink of its pure fount. May my humble prayer be not in vain that the number may not be few, that the sacred pages be never unclosed in vain, that its holy operation may work its way into the hearts of all men, and, finally, that the offering may bring down a blessing on the hearts that bestowed it; and accept the kind wishes of all happiness from one, who, though unknown to you, is nevertheless An humble believer,

"Anne Simpson Thomas.

"*Spanish Town, Jamaica,*
July 29, 1826."

"CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—Me desire to return you our hearty and sincere tanks for de present of de books dat we have receive, and dat we hope dat de blessing of Almighty Fader may descend uppon ebery ephod dat is use in promote dat course of de Gospel, and dat your prayers and our prayers may unite togeder in praising Almighty Fader for de gift of a preached Gospel, and in sending his ministers to proclaim mercy unto de heathens, and for de prosperity of our minister and his dear partner in life, dat dey may be spare, and dat der days may be prolong, and dat massa's ministerial duty may be attend to wid dat solemnity of heart and wid dat pure affection towards God's glory, and dat many sinner may be bless wid de gift of de spirit, dat at lass both preacher and hearers may be heirs of dat mansion which our blessed Massa Jesus had gone to prepare, and dat de blessing of Almighty Fader may be sent upon us, dat we may not be weary in well doing.

"I remain your humble sarvant,

"RICHARD BULLOCK.

"*Spanish Town, Jamaica,*
July 28, 1826."

The manner of admitting members to communion is precisely the same as that practised in Baptist churches in England, and is thus described by individuals who were present on an occasion, when the qualifications of candidates for church fellowship were canvassed.

"After this conference was concluded," say Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, alluding to their interview with the officers of the church, "we had an opportunity of

witnessing the examination to which the candidates for baptism are subjected. A poor old woman was the first examined. She was closely questioned by the minister, but more especially by the deacons and leaders, respecting the time and cause of her 'coming to religion,' her views in wishing to be baptized, and on the person and offices of Christ. She appeared to be a simple-hearted woman, anxious to forsake sin, and to join herself to a praying people; but her answers did not evince that clear acquaintance with the leading doctrines of Christianity which was deemed essential; *she was therefore deferred.* The next probationer, a young man, was deemed suitable to be received. Before the decision is made, the candidate is requested to withdraw, and those present who are acquainted with him give their sentiments on the correctness of his outward conduct, what change is to be observed in it, and whether he is in their opinion a converted character. If it is concluded to receive him, he is called in, and after being exhorted by the minister not to put his trust in the outward ordinance, is informed that the church has unanimously concluded to admit him as a member; and on the first convenient occasion he is baptized."*

SECTION II.—It has been already stated that there are connected with several of the denominations a considerable number of persons called inquirers—catechumens or probationers. These are generally per-

* From Sturge and Harvey's West Indies, p. 181.

sons who, having renounced their sinful practices and expressed a desire to give themselves up to God, are enrolled as regular hearers, and thereby place themselves under the especial superintendence of the ministers and churches with which they have thus become connected. While one particular object of this plan is to encourage religious impressions, and to induce immediate decision in the ways of God by bringing the hopefully penitent under regular religious instruction; it, at the same time, affords an effectual security against the admission of improper characters. Hence *all*, before they are proposed as members for church fellowship, have been in the regular habit of attending the house of God, and the various private means of grace, and have also been the subjects of special "oversight in the Lord."

The term of probation, of course, varies according to circumstances, and the views of different ministers and churches. Among the Baptists it is seldom the case that an application is made for an admission to the privileges of membership until after a probation of twelve months at least—the individual having, during that time, as far as could be ascertained, led a consistent and holy life.

Some of the questions asked on such occasions, and which, if not answered satisfactorily, involve the suspension or rejection of the candidate, are such as would offend an individual under similar circumstances in England:—Are you in debt?—Are you married?—if not married, do you live with any one according to the old customs of the country?

As an evidence that missionaries are not less particular in the admission of members than their brethren in England, the writer will mention two or three cases out of many that could be selected. On Mrs. Phillippo's return to England, some years ago, for the benefit of her health, she was accompanied by a young woman, a native, who had been connected as an inquirer with the church at Spanish Town for a period of five years. A minister in the country, having had some close religious conversation with her, was surprised that she was without the pale of the church, and proposed her being baptized without delay. Mr. and Mrs. Burchell were accompanied home by a similar individual under the same circumstances; and very soon after their temporary settlement in London, the church under the care of Mr. Upton, senior, were so satisfied with her piety that their venerable pastor baptized her. When the author was in England himself, a few years since, he was sought out by a young black man, who had made his escape from slavery: the latter had been attached to the church at Spanish Town, and, subsequently, to the church at Old Harbour, as an inquirer for years. After a private conversation with the minister and several members of the church at Eagle-street, and after an application to the writer by the venerable and zealous pastor, the Rev. Joseph Ivimey, he appeared before the church as a candidate, was unanimously accepted as a proper subject for Christian fellowship, and was baptized by Mr. Overbury.

Among those even selected from the mass as giving evidence of superior piety, many are turned back; and

the principal concern of missionaries on such occasions is lest they have rejected many whom Christ has not rejected, rather than lest they should have received those whom Christ has not received. Of the former, as an error of judgment, the writer has often had painful evidence, as well as of the latter; one instance of which he will adduce. On the morning immediately following the day on which he had administered the ordinance of baptism, he was thus accosted by his brother missionary, the Rev. J. Edmondson, the Wesleyan minister, then in Spanish Town:—"My servant is in great trouble, crying from morning till night, because you did not baptize her yesterday. She tells me she was objected to because she did not express herself clearly on some essential points; but I can assure you, from the testimony of my predecessor, and from my own opportunities of judging, that I believe her to be a truly sincere and pious Christian. Such, indeed, is my opinion of her, that I should be glad to receive her into the church under my care."

"If the Lord should spare me until next Lord's day," said a brother missionary some years ago, "I expect to baptize eighty persons. Of these we have good reason to hope well; though some, after the strictest examination, deceive us. I think I do not exaggerate when I say, these have been selected from twice that number, who have, even with tears and prayers, entreated us to receive them. I often feel it painful, indeed, to refuse them immediate admission; but we wish to have as extensive a knowledge of their characters as possible before we receive them. Some

of them weep when they are told to stop a little longer, and say, 'Massa, suppose dead take me; how me die when me know dis my duty, an me no do it!' I can only say, I wish to know that it is their duty, and then I shall not object." Said another, who had just arrived on the island, alluding to a considerable number who had been recently added to one of the churches:—"It was an interesting spectacle, such an one as perhaps is seldom witnessed. The greatest caution has been exercised in receiving these candidates. Many more have been rejected than have been received. Their knowledge, doubtless, is scanty; but many of their prayers testify that they are acquainted with the fundamental truths of the Gospel. They have no inducements to hypocrisy, except ridicule and persecution be inducements. Mr. C. is as faithful in addressing them as a man can possibly be; telling them that it will be of no use whatever to be baptized if they do not love and serve God: on the contrary, it would be far better for them if they were never baptized at all."

A worthy deacon of the church at Spanish Town, when asked his opinion respecting the experience of a candidate for church fellowship, usually observed, when the individual appeared forward and talkative—"Well, you peak very well; but sweet mouth and pretty words dont always show dat de heart change: take care, we must watch you quite close, see what you *do*. It no hard ting to peak Christian, but it quite hard ting to follow up de Christian. Massa Jesus Christ say, 'Not ebery one as say Lord,

Lord, shall enter into de kingdom, but him as do *de will.*'"

In consequence of defective knowledge, superstitious notions, the distance at which they have lived from the regular means of grace, or some act of inconsistency, considerable numbers of the persons constituting the Baptist churches have been inquirers during a *period of from three to seven years.* So far as the author is personally acquainted with the ministers and churches of the Baptist denomination in Jamaica, he cannot but believe that, not only as much, but even more caution is exercised in the admission of members into their communities, than is exercised by ministers and churches of any denomination in England. If, in relation to the admission of members, errors have been committed at all, it has been by a practice directly the reverse. As previously observed, hundreds of applicants for the privileges of church fellowship have been again and again rejected; and, as an individual, the author can assure the Christian world that on a review of his missionary life, scarcely anything gives him greater pain than the apprehension of the injury which he may have inflicted on those who have been thus denied, persuaded that, although comparatively ignorant of some of the truths of Christianity, that they knew Him whom to know is life eternal, and will receive a hearty welcome to the "marriage supper of the Lamb."

Great as is the aggregate number of Christians united in church fellowship with the various evangelical missionary societies in Jamaica, the total number annually excluded from them does not probably ex-

ceed, in proportion to the number of their members, the total exclusions from the churches in Great Britain. With regard to other denominations, the writer is unable to speak with certainty, not having access to the necessary documents by which to form a calculation; but the exclusions from the Baptist churches for the last four or five years, which churches now comprise 30,000 members, have scarcely averaged two per cent., or more than two in a year to a church of 120 members. Nor does this comparative fewness of exclusions arise from any laxity of discipline. Such is the system of supervision adopted, and which will be hereafter explained, that however large the church, or however widely its members may be scattered over a district, almost every inconsistency is known, and everything of importance is at once reported to the church for investigation. Matters, indeed, which in England would be considered trivial are here regarded as *offences* requiring the exercise of discipline. Such are mutual misunderstandings, disagreements between man and wife, covetousness, absence from social meetings and from the house of God, with others of a similar kind too numerous to detail. In almost all cases, where churches have been for any length of time established, acts of delinquency are faithfully reported: it is indeed held to be a sacred duty, whatever the circumstances or influence of the guilty party. A gentleman who communed with the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. S. Oughton, soon after his arrival in Jamaica, thus writes to a friend in England:—"I sat down with about 3000 members.

After the interesting service two members were publicly excluded—one for myalism, the other for what would make many a member of an English church look with astonishment—it was for being at the *races;* and this I am told is a constant and regular rule throughout the island." In cases, however, where members of churches have failed in their duty in this respect, it has, in almost every instance, been performed by those who are not professors. In Jamaica, as in England, worldly men are keen judges of what Christians ought to be; and so common is the practice on the part of the former to magnify inconsistencies into crimes, and to report them to the churches, in order to bring the accused under discipline, that this circumstance alone furnishes a strong presumptive evidence that if our members were not sincere in their profession they would not subject themselves to such constant and annoying liabilities. By almost all persons, from the highest to the lowest, church discipline is made a bugbear for selfish purposes. The author has frequently heard the observation, as he has walked along the street, "If you do not mind how you behave, I will get you read out of your church." While, on the other hand, it is equally common, when a member has been really convicted of sin, for an employer, from the same interested motives, to solicit personally or by letter that discipline might be relaxed in favour of the offender. With reference to this duty, in regard to members themselves, fathers are frequently known to bear testimony against their children; husbands against their wives, and the contrary; masters against their

servants, and servants against their masters; members of classes against their leaders, and leaders against the members of their classes. Instances indeed are common in which parents, from a regard to the glory of God and the honour of the churches to which they belong, have done violence to their parental affections by refusing all intercourse with their children while under the censure of the church, or at least until discipline has had its effect in producing repentance and reformation. A few years since a respectable person of colour was excluded from one of the churches, as the united act of 2000 members, for allowing his daughter, a slave who was living in fornication with her master, an occasional residence beneath his roof. Attendance at dances, or merry-makings of any description, as well as at horse-races, are all sins which are visited with excision in all the Jamaica churches with which the author is acquainted. *Suspensions* seldom occur under any circumstances. All offences that properly come under the cognizance of the churches are dealt with impartially and promptly, although, perhaps, with too much severity to be in exact accordance with scriptural authority. The statements here made with regard to the fidelity of the members of the churches in reporting sin, by whomsoever committed, is thus corroborated by a missionary, Mr. Clarke, now of Western Africa, who had the charge of a church belonging to one of his brethren, in the absence of the latter from the island. "The deacons and leaders behave well, and show much faithfulness in reproving sin. Your dear people in general show that they love the

Saviour, and bid fair for being your 'joy and crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus.' One of the deacons has had heavy charges brought against him by a man who was excluded the church for drunkenness, but, after a patient investigation of the whole matter, it was found that rage and malice had caused the wicked man to invent falsehoods against him, in order to have him also put out of the church. The accused showed a good spirit throughout the whole."

Many of the people manifest as high a sense of Christian consistency as the most enlightened members of Christian churches in Britain. Some time since a missionary, as he had been accustomed, went to preach at a house that had been kindly lent to him by its tenant for the purpose, and finding no congregation to meet him, went round the village, and remonstrated with the people on what he supposed to be their improper conduct, when he found that they had absented themselves because the master had been ill-using his wife. Preaching at the house was discontinued as a consequence, although no other was to be obtained in the neighbourhood.

An Evangelical clergyman, during the operation of the apprenticeship system, was appointed to officiate in the dwelling-house of an estate which had been consecrated by the Bishop as a temporary place of worship. The population around being almost wholly connected with the Baptist church and congregation at Spanish Town, the clergyman obtained the concurrence of their pastor to their attending on his ministry, in the absence of service performed by their

own minister. The people, however, did not attend the preaching of the clergyman. Thinking their conduct the result of prejudice, he remonstrated with them, and used every effort in his power to remove it. All his attempts were unavailing, and being now satisfied, from his knowledge of the negro character, that they were influenced by other causes, he was resolved, if possible, to ascertain them. Accordingly, on inquiring of one of the most influential among them, the individual, a black man, replied, "No, minister, we can't go to you church—God no dere!" "God is not there! what do you mean?" "God no come which side sin is. Busha livin wid woman in a house where minister preach widout dem married, and God can't come bless de word where sich wickedness carry on." "O, indeed! is it so? and is that the reason why you don't attend? Well, I will soon endeavour to remedy that." The clergyman represented the case to the Bishop, and another house in the neighbourhood was secured and occupied, not liable to the same objection. This fact, in substance, was mentioned to the author by the clergyman himself, as a gratifying evidence of the existence of Christian principle and feeling among the people in the district, and as calculated to encourage him in the prosecution of his work.

The manner in which cases of alleged delinquency are investigated is in general eminently just and scriptural. Church meetings in most cases being held by the large churches at least once a week, it may be supposed that the rule laid down by our Lord for the

treatment of offences is generally and extensively understood. Being so frequently appealed to, almost every instance of its violation forms a matter of complaint to the minister. "Minister," it is often said, "I know me done wrong, and me very sorry for it, but me come to ax minister if it right for me broder to tell me fault to another pusson, and to the church, before him come tell it to me? Him go gainst de scripture, and minister must bring him up to the church too." Their conduct towards backsliders, also, is in general in strict accordance with the word of God. On this account very few who are excluded absent themselves from the means of grace, or continue long without the pale of the church. Probably not more than the proportion of one-third of those excluded die in a state of apostacy.

Professing Christians, especially those attached to missionary churches, are called, by way of distinction and peculiarity, "*praying people*," and to this designation they are eminently entitled. As previously stated, prayer-meetings are almost invariably better attended than week-evening lectures. On special seasons for prayer, such as times of peculiar trial and general sickness, the places of worship are thronged. On his first arrival in the island the author was for several months prohibited from preaching by the public authorities; he however made repeated applications to Courts of Quarter Sessions to be allowed this right. On such occasions the place of worship at the station he occupied was crowded from the earliest dawn of day until the result transpired. During the interval, prayers, lite-

rally mingled with "strong crying and tears," were offered up almost without intermission, and with a fervency which he had never before witnessed. During the disturbances in 1832 daily prayer-meetings were held in many of the places of public worship in those districts to which the outbreak had not extended. They were generally crowded to excess. During the space of a fortnight a prayer-meeting was held every day in the chapel at Spanish Town, at twelve o'clock, and this notwithstanding the contumely, the scorn, and punishment to which the people were subjected; and on one occasion while engaged in earnest supplication that the unhappy man who had been induced to perjure himself against the missionaries, and on whose evidence their lives depended, might be brought to repentance, a messenger arrived, announcing that their prayers were fully answered, thus literally fulfilling the promise, "It shall come to pass that before they call I will answer, and while they are yet speaking I will hear."*

In towns and in districts where there is a concentrated population, a minister can at almost any time, and at a comparatively short notice, insure an attendance at a special prayer-meeting amounting to

* Isaiah xv. 24.

On the 11th of February, 1833, Samuel Stennett, on whose affidavits Messrs. Burchell and Gardner had been committed, sent for his uncle, Mr. George Scott, a respectable person at Montego Bay, and declared to him that he had sworn falsely against the missionaries, and that he had been bribed to do so.—See Dr. Cox's admirable 'History of the Baptist Mission,' where the whole of these tragical occurrences are related.

two-thirds of his congregation. "The scarlet fever was raging dreadfully in Kingston when I was there," says Dr. Newbegin. "Entire families were sometimes swept away. It was so bad, indeed, that not a day passed without a funeral—often two during twenty-four hours in connexion with the church at East Queen-street, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Samuel Oughton. A public notice was given on the Sunday that a prayer-meeting would be held for the especial purpose of supplicating Almighty God on behalf of the suffering people. The time for meeting was half-past four o'clock, A.M., which was long before daylight. As many as 1500 people assembled. There was very great devotion, and many strove earnestly with the Spirit." Independently of the meetings for united family devotion on the estates, in numerous cases each separate house has its family altar. Nor is this practice confined to the country—it is almost universally current in the towns, where social prayer-meetings are so numerous and common; thus, in traversing the streets after dark, the voice of prayer and praise is heard in every direction. These habits are pursued abroad as well as at home. Wherever they went, and wherever familiarly known, the purity, the fervour, the resolution, and the constancy of their devotion, were universally apparent. On a certain occasion the author, when at one of his country stations, hearing that some tradesmen who were then slaves were come to work on a plantation in the neighbourhood, employed them on the mission premises during their own time, on which account he provided them with

sleeping accommodation. On rising before daylight on the first morning after they had lodged on the premises, he overheard one of them in fervent prayer, and on inquiry found that all of them (half a dozen in number) belonged to the church under the pastoral care of a missionary brother, the Rev. J. Merrick, now of Western Africa, whose station was about ten miles distant. These brethren were entire strangers to the writer until this discovery was made; and this he found was their habitual practice wherever they took up their abode for the night. In some cases it was customary for Christian negroes employed in field labour to hold a prayer-meeting during their hour of cessation for refreshment, in the middle of the day, selecting some secluded spot for the exercise. It is customary for the Christian negroes, both in town and country, whenever practicable, emulating the condut of David, Daniel, and others of the Old Testament saints, to engage in *private* exercises of devotion three times a day. The moment they awake in the morning, which is often long before the dawn, they are on their knees: this is repeated at noon, and again on retiring to rest. Many are in the habit of praying thus whenever they awake in the night, and the writer has known some who, from constant habit, awoke almost invariably at a certain time, and poured forth their prayers in the stillness and solitude of the midnight hour. To such a degree is this duty in general recognised, that in the towns, on the occurrence of a hurricane, or the shock of an earthquake, the voice of prayer is heard in almost every house, and frequently

from the middle of the streets. Under these circumstances it will be readily conceived that social prayer-meetings are numerous and frequent. At these meetings among themselves females commonly engage as well as males, and their prayers are oftentimes distinguished by astonishing fervour and natural eloquence. In connexion with the Spanish Town district there are, on a moderate calculation, 280 every week, three or four being held during that period by each class respectively, under the superintendence of subordinate native agency. This estimate will probably apply to the greater part of the larger churches and congregations on the island, as also to the majority of those of smaller dimensions, in a corresponding degree. On the supposition that these meetings averaged 100 per week, at 100 of the principal stations, there would be 10,000 social prayer-meetings during every week of the year.

The following is a prayer that was offered up some time since by a deacon of the church at Spanish Town, at a missionary prayer-meeting, and is inserted to convey an idea of the fervour and pious sentiment which usually pervade the supplications of the people. It was transcribed from memory as soon as the meeting was concluded, and the author can pledge himself to its accuracy, both as to sentiment and language.

"O, dow great and blessed God, we tank and bless dy holy name dat dow give we another opportunity of meeting togeder in de place where prayer is wont to be made. We acknowledge wid shame and confusion of face we great unwordiness to approach dy sacred

footstool, and much less to handle dy sacred name between we polluted lip. We have not done one ting right nor fittin in dy sight ever since we born up to dis present hour. We have sin gainst de all time wid a high hand and a tretched out arm, and if dow been strick to mark our offence, O gracious God, we bin cut down long before dis like de wortless cumberer of de ground. When we tink of dy great love to we poor dying sinner, dat dow sent dy beloved son to pill him precious blood upon de cross, an buffeted, an spit upon, an mock by cruel man, what cause heb we, O blessed Massa, to call upon we heart, an all de power of we soul, to bless and praise dy holy name! Dow do great tings indeed for we, an yet we heart so hard, we will so stubborn and rebellious, we conscience so hardened, we understanding so dark, dat instead of loving de as we ought, we do notin but sin an grieve dy Holy Spirit. Oh! left we not to weself, for if dow do we tumble pon de dark mountain, an we feet catch in de trap de enemy of soul eber laying to draw we into. O do dow broke we stubborn heart, for it is desperate wicked bove all tings, it is full of ebery cage of unclean bird. O do dow root dem out same as Massa Jesus did cast out de debils out of de man wandering mong de tombs; an may we sit down like him at de feet of Jesus, clothed and in we right mind.

"O Lord, me heart is full, but me is poo ting, no able to find word to tell de my want an desire. Me know not how to pray, nor what to pray for, but me heart is open to de like a well widout a cover, and me come dis night, hungring and thirsting, to eat de

bread of life, an bring me empty pitcher, like de woman of Samaria, to draw water out of de well of salvation. O send we not empty away. Bless we, even we also, O our Fader, for dow hast promis if poo sinner call pon de, dow will hear dem, for dy ear dont heavy dat it cannot hear, neider dy arm shorten dat dow cannot save. Remember Mary Magdalene and de tief pon de cross; dow didst wash dem wid dy precious blood, an dow is able to save to de uttermost all dat come unto de by him. O Lord, save or we perish. Blot out all we sin like a tick cloud from dy book of remembrance, an grant dat we may love de more, and sarve de better, ebery hour of we life. May we hate sin, an fly from it as from de ting of de sarpent and de corpion, an continually receive fresh supply of grace from de till we keep wax tronger and tronger, and appear perfect before de in Zion. O do dow bless we dear minister, who call pon me unwordy servant for call pon him God my God. O do dow bless de metsage of salvation dat has been deliver on de past sabbath. Do dow pare him life, an able him to lift up him voice like a mighty trumpet, dat sinner may see dem danger, an now begin to fly to de. O Lord water de seed sow from Sabbath to Sabbath, dat him no labour in vain, nor pend him strength for nought, but dat he may hab many seal for him ministry, and many soul for him hire. Many come here, O gracious Master, to pend an[illegible]e hour, or to mock pon dy precious word. O do [illegible] bring down dem high look, and soften dem har[illegible]eart, dat dey may trow down dem rebellious w[illegible]n, and fight

against de no mo, for dow say, whoeber fight against de and prosper? O Lord sarch dem heart as dow did Jerusalem wid a lighted candle, an enable dem dat dem may see dem state as dow see it, an as dem self will see it, if dow cut dem off widout an intrus in dy precious blood. Turn dem from dem evil way, as dow did de city of Ninevah. Dow only can soften dem hard heart. Man cannot do it; it is dy work, dear Jesus—dy work alone to make de leper clean. Dow say Paul plant, Apollos water, but God give de increase. O, blessed Master, we plead wid de. Broke dem heart as dow did Saul of Tarsus, dat dey may not rush down to de pit of destruction, where mercy neber come: we ax de for mercy's sake. Many dem lib like dem got no soul to save, no soul to lost. Top dem in dem mad career, and turn dem like de river of water is turned, dat dey may no more blasflame dy name, nor broke dy Sabbath, nor prosecute dy little one any more. O Lord, we eye is up unto de; have mercy pon dem befo dy mercy clean gone for eber. Blessed God, do dow look pon dy man-servant who train up de children in de cool; strengthen him for him difficult work; gib him patience dat him may be able to bear wid all dem preverse temper; an able him dat he may train up dem youthful mind to love an sarve dee, dat when we head lay low in de grave dey may rise up, fill we places mo better dan we, an become a generation to all de blessed.

"Dow ha[illegible]d we pray for de whole world, from de king pon hi[illegible]rone to de meanest pleasant pon de dunghill, dere do dow hear we poo broken suppli-

cation for all we poo broder and sister who is sick; for de poo prisoner shut up in de dungeon; for all de poo widow an orphan; for all dat travel by sea or by land; an fo all de poo beggar, like Lazarus, laying down at de rich man's gate, full of sore. O Lord comfort dem; bind up dem wound, like de good Samaritan did to de poo man fell mong de tieves, when de priest an Levite passed by, an may dem affliction drive dem back to be like de prodigal son return hom to him fader house.

"Heb mercy, O Lord, pon de four corners of de world, where dem washing up tocks and tones, an de workmanship of dem own hand. Neber hear of Massa Jesus' blood to wash away dem guilty stain. O Lord, make de cales fall off dem dark eye like dow did Saul of Tarsus, when him going raven to Damascus to prosecute dy people. Send blessed European to teach dem how dem may excape dy wrath, which one day will be pour out pon de world. May dey cast away dem idol, and sa what we heb any mo to do wid idol, for dey cannot save we soul; notin but dy blood, dear Jesus, dy blood alone. Has dow not said, dat like as de sun go tro de earth, so de light of dy Gospel shall shine tro de whole world? Has dow not said dat Jesus shall see of de trabel of him soul, and shall be satisfy? Dat like as de rain come and de snow from Heaben and cannot be gader up again by man, so dow would shower down dy blessing pon de whole world? Has dow not said in dy precious word, dat all nation, an king, an queen, shall bow down to dy authority? O do dow fill up dy gracious promise, and tur up all

we heart more dat we may wrestle wid de like Jacob, dat dis time may soon come when dy son an daughter shall come from de East and de West, from de Nort and from de Sout, and sit down wid Abraham, Isaac, an Jacob, in de kingdom of God. O, we long for see dat blessed day: hasten it, blessed Jesus. Let not dy chariot-wheel tarry no longer. We ax it for Jesus' sake, to whom, wid de and de Holy Spirit, we excribe neber-ceasing praises. Amen."

Their prayers are frequently full of point and deeply affecting—"The sublime character and the sanctifying energy of the gospel flashing like brilliant beams of sunshine amidst parting clouds, through the forms of their broken dialect." * "Our monthly prayer-meeting," said a missionary, "is well attended, although we are obliged to meet before the sun goes down, to avoid the penalty. I am sure that some of the prayers offered up by these sons of Canaan would deeply affect your hearts, could you hear them. One said in his prayer last monthly meeting, with great fervour, 'Lord, save we poo black sinner! break up all de debil's work him done in me heart, and save poo African an *me poo Guinea neger*, from dat place where no sun shine, *where no tar twinkle.*' It is some encouragement to hear these poor things pray; and we do hope prayer will prevail against sin, and that this desert will, in answer thereto, be watered and become very fruitful."

* Dr. Cox.

SECTION III.—If an indisposition to make sacrifices for Christ is indicative of a low standard of piety, in whomsoever it is found, it may fairly be presumed that a willingness to part with all for his sake is an evidence of the reverse; and, if this reasoning be admitted, it furnishes another most satisfactory evidence of the real piety of the Jamaica churches. No Christians in modern times have been more severely tried. The instances of the sacrifices they have made of worldly ease, of personal comfort, and of emolument arising from disreputable practices, would fill a volume, and which will be conceived by any individual acquainted with their history for the last twenty years; indeed, "a holy love to Christ and his cause has been exhibited by these poor people; a purity and steadfastness of purpose; a patient endurance; a pure and enlightened charity—only equalled by the confessors and martyrs of the early church, and scarcely less confirmatory of the Christian faith, than the edifying testimony they bore to the Divine power of the truth as it is in Jesus."* Of this fact it is only necessary to adduce one or two illustrations, which will, at the same time, bear upon the general subject of their Christian character.

Riding along one day in the centre of the island, and upon the summit of the ridge of mountains which intersects the country, the author discovered a group of negro women and children sitting by the road-side, beneath the shade of a tree, enjoying their morning's meal. From his knowledge of the country, and the remoteness of the estate to which they belonged, from

* Macfarlane's 'Jubilee of the World,' p. 414.

any place of worship, a favourable opportunity was presented of ascertaining, with some degree of certainty, the extent of religious influence in the interior. He accordingly addressed the most intelligent-looking woman of the group, little anticipating the nature of her replies.

M. "Well, my good woman, do you pray?"

W. "Ah, massa, me trust me do little," she answered with a sigh and a very dejected countenance.

M. "Do you really know anything about Jesus Christ?"

W. "Me sweet massa, ye poo neger very sorry him no know precious Massa Jesus only little, but me striven on to know and lub him more."

M. "Who is Jesus Christ, and what did he come into this world for?"

W. "Me tink Jesus Christ is de Son of God, and him come into de world to die for me poo sinner. No so, massa?"

M. "Where did you first hear about Christ; and how long have you loved him?"

W. "Me yeare about him in de Mettadis chapel not much long ago, and me lub him eber since. Ah me sweet massa, we all wish fo pray to we sweet Massa Jesus long befo, but Massa Buckra prosecute we so. Him no like pray none 't all. Him put we in a tocks, and punish we all time. Ah, poor we! But, massa, we till striven on; me can't leave off to lub Massa Jesus for please Massa Buckra. Massa Jesus come dead fo we poo soul, an we must lub him. If we dead we can't turn we back pon him."

Sacrifices were made by them during slavery, not only of time, comfort, and emolument, but also of property and freedom. The fact that any negroes on estates possessing a little property were professing Christians, was, in numerous cases, a sufficient pretence for the depredations of individuals to whose power they were subjected. Hence their huts were frequently entered, and the little money, which by their superior habits and industry they had acquired, ruthlessly taken away. Many suffered in their worldly circumstances in other respects.

"If you had not joined those enthusiasts of sectarians," said a gentleman to an aged negro woman, "my uncle would have made a good provision for you in your old age; but now, unless your connexion with these people is dissolved, he will stop what he has been allowing you."

"Me quite sorry," said the poor woman, "dat massa angry wid him old sarvant so, but if massa vex becase me take up God work, well den me can't help it; beggen massa pardon, God's angry worser dan massa's angry, an me soul wants more feed dan me body want feed."

"Yes, but only think," replied the gentleman, "how much better it would be for you to have all things comfortable now you are getting old."

"Massa quite good to care for him poo neger body so, but me no wants fo massa fo geb me notin more—me quite satisfy. Me allers heb someting fo eat an drink, an God so good ge me helt an trength, an den what me wants again? If me wants mo, old massa

heart in God hand, and den him open massa heart an make massa ge me more; but since me no wants notin, den God keep massa heart shut, so him don't want to give me more. Me quite comfort too, massa. God promise him no make me wants no good ting: and Massa Jesus sa, 'What profit a man heb if him gain de whole world and lose him own soul.'"

"But why couldn't you have gone to church and heard the rector preach; is n't he as good a preacher as your parson? Why must you go to these ignorant men, who pull down church and state, and are bringing ruin upon the country? The minister of the parish church preaches excellent sermons, I assure you."

"Yes, massa," was her reply; "massa minister in de chutch preach very good sarmon fe true, but it no use to give horse corn and den don't curry him."

"Give a horse corn and then not curry him; what do you mean?"

"Please, massa, me mean massa minister in a chutch preach berry good sarmon in de pulpit, but him neber go bout mong de people see how dem lib same as we minister do. Him people seems like dem love God Sunday, but dem no seems to care bout God and dem soul all tro de week;—dat make me tell massa sa it no use fe give horse corn and den don't curry him."

The following dialogue, illustrative of the same particulars, took place between a magistrate and a tradesman (an African by birth) before the abolition of slavery, the latter being summoned before the magistrate for holding a prayer-meeting in his house:—

Magistrate. "So you have got a church in your yard, I understand, Mr. G.?"

Tradesman. "Me a chutch, massa—no."

M. "O yes, you have."

T. "Please, massa, what massa mean, sar?"

M. "Mean! Why, that you are in the habit of preaching in a church that you have lately built in your yard (a class-house), and that you are in the habit of preaching there; is it not so?"

T. "Me preach, massa? me poor ignorance man; me no able fe preach; me no able to speak much less,—me quite be glad if me could preach."

M. "I am quite sure that you preach, or do something of the sort there."

T. "No, massa; me *pray* some time in me house, dat is all."

M. "Well, what do you call that but preaching and holding a church in your house?—that is what I mean, to be sure."

T. "Well, den, if dat make me heb a chutch in me house, massa self heb a chutch in him house too."

M. "I a church!—no, I have no church."

T. "Please, massa, don't massa blong to chutch a *England?*"

M. "Yes, certainly."

T. "Den, as massa is Christian, and blongs to chutch a England, massa no heb mornin and evenin prayers in him family?"

M. "Yes, yes," hesitatingly.

T. "Well, den, dat make me sa if me heb chutch in me house, massa heb chutch in him house."

M. "But you have people coming to you from considerable distances, and I understand you preach to them."

T. "Hi! Massa, what dat? Sometime, when me friend and broder Christian come down from de country to market and call fo see me, we discourse pon different tings about religion, and den bow down de knee togedder—das all. And when massa heb friend come in for see him from de country, massa no discourse and bow down wid dem in de same fashion?"

M. "I don't know, sir, how that is; but I know this, that there is an affidavit filed against you in the peace-office for preaching in your house, or somewhere."

T. "Well, as for dat, me quiet man, nebber do nobody no harm; but dere is many a dem in dis country don't like religion, and dat's de truth; and derefore dem strive much gainst we."

M. "But you will injure your character and trade by such doings, I assure you; and I would advise you to leave them off."

T. "Ah!—well, massa, me can't help bout losten de trade, me can't left off to pray; and as to what pusson sa bout me character me don't trouble bout dat neider. Dem good word don't do me much credit, and dem bad word is no disgrace."

Numerous instances have occurred in which freedom has been offered to Christian slaves connected with missionary churches, on condition of their leaving off praying; but in no instance, of which the author is aware, has there been a compliance with

the terms. An excellent African negro woman, with a family of six or seven children, who, on account of her fidelity and unwearied attentions to some part of the family to which she belonged, was promised her freedom, and the manumission-papers, both for herself and children, were actually prepared. She had just begun to attend on the preaching of the Gospel, intelligence of which soon reaching the ear of her master he questioned her upon the subject; she acknowledged that she had begun to pray, and that her heart led her to take up God's work. The master threatened that unless she at once abandoned all connexion with the missionaries he would recall his promise with regard to giving her her liberty. She was immoveable; he reasoned;—reproached her with obstinacy and with a want of natural affection for her children. She wept, but remained stedfast. He gave her a few days to consider his determination. She carried her case to God and to her minister. At the conclusion of the specified time she was again ushered into the presence of her master. The writings were exhibited, and the terms again proposed. She had prepared herself for the result, and replied with tears, and an almost bursting heart, "Massa, me want de free, but me cannot deny me Saviour." The master was enraged, and commanded her to take the papers and put them into the fire. She did so, and superintended the flames until they were consumed to ashes.*

* The wife of the author had the happiness, subsequently, of procuring the freedom of this poor woman and her family.

Multitudes of them were exposed to grievous persecution. Even on the Sabbath day the poor people on many estates and other properties were obliged to steal to a place of worship. The expedient they often adopted in order to elude detection was to dress as on a week day, and to carry their better clothes in a basket on their heads, covered with a few vegetables, as though they were going to market. In some instances spies were actually sent to places of worship for the purpose of identifying individuals belonging to certain properties. Thus numbers were punished for no other crime than that of going to a place of worship, and to this penalty all were more or less liable.

The communication of religious truth by one Christian negro to another was an offence cognizable by the civil magistrate, and, when detected, was severely punished. An instance of this, which occurred but a few years ago, it may not be unimportant to detail for reasons irrespective of the fact it is designed especially to illustrate. A slave belonging to the Bog estate, in the parish of Vere, named George Ancle, was brought to the bar, charged with holding and attending nightly meetings in defiance of the 51st clause of the Island Slave Law. Prisoner pleaded No tGuilty.

Mr. Syers, overseer of the Bog, sworn.—On Monday, 21st June, a man by the name of Duncan, or Wilson, was sent to me by the driver as being a preacher about our negro houses; he was decently dressed, and had on a black coat. I talked a little, and then ordered him off the property. I was then

taken to the negro houses by our head watchman; went with him to the chapel, saw eleven benches and a pulpit in the same, gave orders that all these should be taken to the overseer's house. This was the Methodist chapel. I was then taken to the Baptist chapel. I knew nothing more than what the head driver and head watchman told me.

Head driver, sworn.—I have seen prisoner stand up and pray; did not see any pulpit; I sometimes go to hear him, and plenty others go,—some pray. We meet on Sunday afternoons. I sometimes stay till all is over. It is not later than eight or nine o'clock. Never see or know him to get any money. I go to hear prayers and to pray to God. Never knew the negroes to neglect their work or turn out later in the mornings in consequence.

John Chambers, head watchman of the Bog, and a Christian (*i. e.* who was christened), sworn.—The prisoner is a preacher, he has been in the habit of praying many years. Since old Massa's time myself and others go and hear him; they meet on Sunday afternoons, and Friday nights at dark. Can't say the time. The candles were lighted. We did not know it was any harm to go and hear of our duty to God. I have seen the prisoner preaching, I can't say what time when we break up. Prisoner never had a book. We all sang hymns also. There was never any money collected. Never saw, or heard of the prisoner getting paid for his preaching, either by money, fowls, pigs, or any other things else.

The driver was here called upon to give the pri-

soner a character.—Prisoner is a carpenter; a very good working man; a moral man; never knew him to get into faults, or run away; always pleased every one."

The prisoner was here asked what he had to say in his defence. There being a general clamour throughout the court, the prisoner was abashed. He said he attended church and chapel whenever he could himself, and heard the good word, which he thought was no harm to tell to his fellow slaves, and "praying with and for them, that God may bless them all."

The Court then addressed him, saying, that the jury had found him guilty of preaching; and as such, and in order to deter others from the like, the sentence of the Court was that he should be taken to Clarendon workhouse, and there placed to six months' hard labour.

Similar to this is the subjoined letter from a slave, addressed to the author in 1829:—

"Sir,—This will inform you of the state which I am situated in for this present; but I am forbid, or any other slave, not to be seen on the Place;* or I, or whosoever is caught there, is to be sent to the workhouse to hard labour for three months. There is watches over me in the negro house, and I am put on spell Wednesday and Friday night in the boiling-house. Through the mercy of God, which I hope of

* A small place of worship which had been built through his influence near Jericho, the Baptist Mission Station in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

his goodness he will keep me up, so I shall be truly thankful to you for some advice to give me some ease, for I am desired to deny the Saviour's name, and they will treat me well on the property, to forsake the only one which died for me poor sinner.

"I am, dear Minister, &c."

This man was nearly white, and had been head carpenter upon the estate for many years. His going to the boiling-house was therefore of itself a degradation of office, which many would scarcely know how to endure.

An excellent man, a member of the church at Spanish Town, was flogged, and sentenced to hard labour in the convict-gang, for no other offence than praying to God.

Another was about the same time sentenced to six months' confinement in a workhouse, for giving the best instruction in his power to his fellow slaves.

The Rev. John Clarke, now of Western Africa, addressing the author in the year 1832, immediately after the disturbances of that period, says:—

"The torments, persecutions, and privations, now more than ever endured by Christian slaves, are not to be thought of without harrowing up the soul and causing the heart to bleed at every pore. No Colonial Church Union has been formed in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, and thus it may be viewed as a parish as little excited as any in the island; yet in this parish the demon of persecution rages not a little. Miss C— has been threatened with the destruction of her

house, and the voice of prayer and praise, sometimes heard from among the trees, is greatly complained of, though the noise of the goombay, the drum, and the dance is encouraged, and was heard by me from several properties, not only during the night of Saturday last, but until 8 o'clock on Sabbath morning. Thus wickedness is encouraged, and piety is contemned. One of our members has been sent to Rodney Hall Workhouse* for a month, simply for being a Baptist, and has been *caned* by her brutal owner—wrought as usual through the day, and thrown into a dark dungeon *each night for a month*. She told me her usage was such that she would have much preferred being sent to Rodney Hall. A third was seen returning from worship last month by her overseer, and had the promise of being *marked;* and on the Monday morning received a severe flogging. I could go further, but need not. What I have said will give you some idea of the usage of our brethren and sisters in Christ who are slaves, throughout the island."

George Gibbs, a man of colour, who came in the last century from the southern states of North America, laboured with great diligence and zeal, in the midst of persecution and privation, while all around was darkness and spiritual death. He was once thrown into Spanish Town jail, and confined there four days for preaching the gospel of Christ. Frequently he was taken while on estates at night, and cast into a dungeon; and sometimes had his feet made fast in the

* Notorious as a place of punishment during slavery and apprenticeship.

stocks. Nothing discouraged, he persevered in travelling from place to place, making known Christ and his salvation to the perishing multitudes around him. In this way he collected together many hundreds of people, and formed those of them who believed into a Christian church. Owing to the fearful state of Jamaica at that time, he baptized and administered the Lord's Supper under the shade of night, in unfrequented places, where his persecutors were not likely to come upon him or his helpless flock. After a time a piece of land was privately bought, and a sort of chapel was erected upon it. This was surrounded by swamps, and ground covered with trees and bushes: here for a time they worshipped God, concealed from the view of their enemies, and hoped their secluded retreat would not become known. Soon however it was found out by two white men—the worshippers fled, and the building was speedily levelled to the ground.

For years in succession these poor creatures were liable to frequent, arbitrary, and excessive punishment, and in numerous instances they were called to endure the bitter effects of the same spirit that kindled the fires of Smithfield, and originated the cruelties of the Inquisition.

Jamaica has furnished as noble a band of martyrs to the truth as any part of the world of similar extent and within the same period of time, since the 16th century. Fitzherbert Batty, Esq., who was not remarkable for his liberality, observed in the House of Assembly but a few years ago, "If the white inhabitants had not exemplified the spirit of Bonner in tor-

turing and burning the missionaries and their flocks, it was not for want of will." Pretexts, however, were occasionally afforded for the hostile and malignant spirit that was latent in their bosoms towards the less privileged servants of the Most High, and multitudes of them ascended to heaven by as certain a flight as the spirits of the murdered Vaudois from the valleys of the Alps. Like those

> —— "Whose bones
> Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains' cold;
> —— Their moans
> The vales resounded to the hills, and they
> To heaven."

Reference is especially made to the tragedy of 1832, an ample account of which is furnished in Dr. Cox's history, previously noticed. Two or three instances of this malignant persecuting spirit will here suffice:—

A magistrate, and a considerable proprietor and attorney, having frequently expressed to his slaves his detestation of praying, and threatened with severe punishment any of them whom he might find thus engaged, had one day an intimation, while boasting of his success in excluding religion from the properties he managed, that several of the negroes on the estate where he then resided had caught the infection, and that they were in the habit of holding evening meetings. He hastened to the negro village to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the report, and, to his mortification, actually caught several of them in a house upon their knees in prayer. He immediately identified them, and after venting his rage returned to his house. Mark the sequel. This fiend in human form, raving with fury, declared

that they should have enough of being on their knees, and made them, by way of punishment, work on their knees in the field, and in the performance of household duties, for several days; at the same time ordered the house in which they assembled to be demolished! An aged negro, who was punished with great severity, on being asked after each successive infliction if he would promise to leave off praying and teaching, as often repeated, "Massa may flog me flesh, but him can't flog me soul; me must pray, massa, and me will pray, massa." He maintained his determination, although almost exhausted with suffering. It is currently reported that one negro was actually executed for this "crime" in the parish of Manchester some years since, and that his body was suspended on a gibbet until devoured by birds of prey, as a terror to others. Another individual, who is still living, was condemned under the same circumstances, and but for some providential occurrence would have suffered the same penalty.

An overseer, who was also a magistrate, had a negro flogged repeatedly and cruelly several times in succession for praying, first giving him thirty-nine lashes; then, to obviate the cognizance of the law, which restricted the number of lashes to thirty-nine at one time, released him, and tied him up again, &c. At length the heart of the driver relented at the sufferings of his fellow slave, and he ventured humbly to expostulate with the overseer, saying, "Massa, me no able to flog your neger more; him have enough already, and him no able to bear more." The overseer

insisted upon obedience, and the driver was obliged to submit. The victim was for the last time laid down upon a ladder, and whipped unmercifully. On his being taken up he staggered a few paces and fell. He was raised again, but he again fell, being utterly unable to stand. He was then conveyed to the hospital, and the medical man who attended the estate arriving just at the time, was called to see him, as he had fainted. He told the overseer that the negro was dying. The overseer declared he was not, and almost insisted on his being bled. "What is the use of it?" said the doctor; "Don't you see the poor man is almost gone?" With these words upon his lips, taking hold of the victim by the wrist, he found indeed that his pulse had ceased to beat. An inquest was held on the body the next day, and the verdict returned was, "Died from Infirmity."

"He dropped his quiv'ring flesh upon the sod,
And flew to meet his Saviour and his God."

* * * * * *

"He died beneath the lash—his mortal frame
Could bear no more, and death in mercy came;
Patient and calm his spirit passed away,
And now his body sleeps beneath the clay;
His toils are over, and his weary breast
Has found what man in life denied him—rest.
Poor, slumbering dust! is there that passes by
And yields thy death the tribute of a sigh?
The tyrant tramples on thy lowly grave—
'T is but the ashes of a *murdered slave!*"

And what has been the conduct and spirit which these poor creatures have exemplified under this complication of trials and sufferings? Probably no in-

stance has been known in which they have displayed a spirit of revenge; but on the contrary, one of pity, forbearance, patience, and forgiveness. Never did the author hear from the lips of any, even when smarting under the influence of punishment recently inflicted, a single word that implied anything like retaliation; but on the contrary, frequently has he seen them lift their eyes to heaven, and pray for mercy on their persecutors. Their language has often been, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," adding, "Buckra left him God in England, and devil in Jamaica stur him up to do all dis wickedness. Poor ting! him eye blind, and him heart hard; but if God open him eye, and touch him heart, him sorry, and no prosecute any more." A book-keeper on a certain occasion rushed into one of the little village chapels where a number of poor people belonging to the estate on which it was located had assembled for prayer, and approaching a table that was at one end of the room, against which a venerable old man was standing, engaged in conducting the devotions, immediately commenced a mock imitation of preaching. After conducting himself in a disgraceful manner for some time, and finding he could not provoke the resentment of these poor but pious people, he thus addressed himself to an African woman who was less able to restrain her feelings than her associates, the rest for some time observing the most perfect silence.

Book-keeper. Well! don't you think I have preached a good sermon in your church for the first time?

Answer. Dis don't no chutch, sar. If massa want preach, hadn't massa better go preach in him own chutch a England? Don't massa sa him blong to Chutch a England?

B. Belong to the Church of England! yes, to be sure I do. I am none of your hypocrites and methodists.

A. Ah! well den, since massa blong to Chutch a England, if him want make fun him better go make fun in him own chutch den.

B. I don't want any of your lectures. Let me see, I must now pray. How do you go to work to pray: tell me, will you?

A. Don't massa a buckra gentleman? Why den you ax me how fo pray? me always tink sa buckra gentleman know better dan neger know—how den massa come ax neger fo larn him when massa ought to much mo able fo teach poor neger sarvant how fo pray?

B. Nonsense. Tell me, I say, how you pray.

A. Well! since massa don't know, we will tell him. When we pray we say, "Our Fader which art in Heaven," sometimes—sometime we beg God to give we new heart and right spirit, dat we may love him and all we fellow-creature more. Pray!—dat mean to tell God all what in we heart, and beg him to forgive all we sin tro Jesus Christ. An one ting we pray for *now*, massa—pray God to give we patience dat we no get vex wid massa fo all what him do in broking up we meetin, and making all de carousement about de place.

B. I tell you I don't want any of your preaching—I want you to show me how you go to work to pray (kneeling down and lifting up his hands and eyes in mockery)—come, tell me what I am to say.

[*The old man presiding at the meeting.* O massa! we quite sorry to see how massa go on mock God so; and since massa don't know to pray for himself we will try to pray for him, dat God may make him trow down him rebellious weapon, and have mercy upon him soul at de last day. Poor buckra child! sin harden you heart an bline you eye too much.]

The whole company here joined in an ejaculatory prayer on his behalf.

B. Ah! I don't want your prayers; black people's prayers are good for nothing—how can they pray truly when they tell lies and thieve?

A. No, massa, dem can't pray truly till God's spirit teach dem, den dem pray truly, an arter dat dem don't tief again. Befo dem pray, den dem tell lie and tief. Befo dem no *know* good, den dem no *do* good; but when dem *know* good, den dem can't do bad again.

B. Yes, but black people have no souls, and therefore they have no business to pray.

A. All black pusson is sinner, as same as white pusson, and Massa Jesus sa him hear when all sinner pray, so dat mean black sinner as well as white sinner. Him say him don't want no fine word, no long argument; but if we don't able to say more dan "God be merciful to we poor sinner," like de publican, we shall go down to we house justify.

This impious man at length withdrew, amidst ex-

pressions of pity and prayer by the poor people, who made his case, and that of similar ones, an especial subject of their future supplications.

The spirit which the poor Christian negroes have manifested under these persecutions has been indeed most exemplary. "What can Jesus Christ do for you now?" said an inhuman slave-master, when in the act of applying the lacerating whip to an already half-murdered slave. "Him teach me to forgive you, massa," was the reply; and this has been the sentiment of hundreds in Jamaica under similar treatment. The following anecdote seems so accurately to describe the conduct of the generality of negro Christians towards their enemies, that it forms an appropriate conclusion to this particular.

A slave in one of the islands of the West Indies, originally from Africa, having been brought under the influence of religious instruction, became singularly valuable to his owner, on account of his integrity and general good conduct—so much so that his master raised him to a situation of some importance in the management of his estate. This owner, on one occasion wishing to purchase twenty additional slaves, employed him to make the selection, giving him instructions to choose those who were strong and likely to make good workmen. The man went to the slave-market, and commenced his search. He had not long surveyed the multitudes offered for sale before he fixed his eye intently upon an old and decrepid slave, and told his master that he must be one. The master seemed greatly surprised, and remonstrated against it; the

poor fellow begged that he might be indulged, when the dealer remarked that if they were about to buy twenty he would give them the old man into the bargain. The purchase was accordingly made, and the slaves were conducted to the plantation of their new master, but upon none did the selector bestow half the attention he did upon the poor old decrepid African. He took him to his own habitation, and laid him upon his own bed; he fed him at his own table, and gave him drink out of his own cup; when he was cold he carried him into the sunshine, and when he was hot he placed him under the shade of the cocoa-nut trees. Astonished at the attention this confidential slave bestowed upon a fellow-slave, his master interrogated him on the subject. He said, "You could not take so intense an interest in the old man but for some special reason—he is a relation of yours, perhaps your father?" "No, massa," answered the poor fellow, "he no my fader." "He is then an elder brother?" "No, massa, he be no my broder." "Then he is an uncle, or some other relation." "No, massa, he be no of my kindred at all, nor even my friend." "Then," asked the master, "on what account does he excite your interest?" "He my enemy, massa," replied the slave; "he sold me to the slave-dealer, and my Bible tell me, when my enemy hunger feed him, and when he thirst give him drink, for in so doing I shall heap coals of fire on his head."

SECTION IV.—The members of the Jamaica churches are distinguished in general by great love to one another, to the ordinances of God's house, and to their ministers. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples," says the Saviour, "if ye have love one for another." This distinguishing badge of true discipleship is perhaps exemplified by no body of Christians at the present day in a greater degree than by the churches in Jamaica. They emphatically regard each other as belonging to the family of Christ, and as being members *one of another*. This relationship is universally recognised. The members, though numerous, *know* each other, and are generally on terms of the most friendly intercourse, whatever be the difference of their worldly circumstances. They are greatly distinguished for their hospitality one towards another. Hundreds are in the habit of coming from the country to the towns to attend the services on the Sabbath; and for this purpose many arrive on the previous evening, and all find gratuitous accommodation at the houses of their Christian brethren. The same disposition is manifested throughout the country; so that every individual, in travelling from one part of the island to the other, if able to prove his connexion with a Christian church, is sure to meet with kindness, accommodation, and refreshment. When in circumstances of worldly difficulty they usually assist each other. Numerous and frequent instances have occurred in which churches have contributed to purchase the freedom of a brother or sister. While they seldom fail to report actual cases of delinquency, it is not often

that they judge each other by a censorious and uncharitable temper. They are slow to speak of each other's failings and imperfections, and, like their compassionate Lord, are much more disposed to pity and to pray for a fallen brother than to censure him. To befriend and cherish the destitute, the sick, and the aged, is a duty generally regarded; hence, whenever any one is taken ill, arrangements are immediately made, by the leader of the class to which he belongs, to secure him a supply of gratuitous attendants, and for the purpose of ascertaining and supplying his wants. None are driven to the necessity of seeking relief from the parish. The author indeed is not aware that a single individual in the island connected with dissenting churches is dependent upon the parish for support. In cases of death, where no effects are left to cover the expenses of the funeral, such expenses are defrayed by private contributions or from a fund for the relief of the poor, which is supplied by donations at the sacrament.

Their attachment to each other, as brethren and sisters of the family of Christ, is associated with great respect and deference, especially when met together for the disposal of church business. Whatever the respectability of some of the candidates for church fellowship, or the members against whom charges are preferred, they pass through the same ordeal as the meanest individual; and though questioned by their brethren, many of whom were slaves, rarely do they manifest any signs of contempt or airs of superiority.

Their attendance on the public means of grace is not only numerous, but, wherever those means are statedly supplied, both *regular and punctual*. Habits were contracted during slavery of attending the house of God only on every alternate Sabbath, and it is so at the present time where the public means of grace cannot be more frequently afforded, or where difficulties arise from indisposition or remoteness of residence. But referring especially to the towns and thickly populated districts in which missionaries reside, not only is the attendance of the people regular as to the *day*, but also as to *time*. Some are seated in the house of God an hour or more before the service commences, and on the morning of the Sabbath, almost all are in their places before the minister enters the pulpit. Like Cornelius to Peter, they seem to say, "Now, therefore, we are all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God." The services of God's house are evidently their delight—"times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Pleasure beams in every eye and animates every countenance. Their behaviour is *serious*, suited to the place and the occasion; whilst usually their attention is remarkable, occasionally expressed by responses and other signs of interest and approval. In hundreds of instances some of these poor creatures have travelled fifty miles to enjoy the advantage of a single Sabbath; and there is scarcely a place of worship in the island but numbers who are in the constant habit of attending have to travel a distance of from

three to ten or fifteen miles; and whether going or returning, they give an impression that they regard the worship of God as a high and holy privilege.

On particular occasions, such as baptisms, chapel openings, as well as at missionary meetings, they are enthusiastic, sometimes attending in such numbers as to fill the whole premises, and manifesting such signs of gratification as demonstrates that their love to Christ and to his cause is supreme. On such occasions in the lowlands some come from almost incredible distances. The roads leading to the stations where these festivals occur are literally thronged; some are seen in chaises, some in carts, some in waggons drawn by oxen, some on horseback, with hundreds on foot, bearing baskets on their heads containing their best apparel; but all pressing on with vivacity and speed. They identify both their interest and their happiness with the cause of God. The performance of their religious duties is their meat and drink. With regard to Zion, it may be almost literally said that "they take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." During the disturbances in 1832, the anxiety manifested for the preservation of their places of worship, and the grief expressed when any were demolished, was intense. Where danger was apprehended, some were guarded by hundreds of the poor people day and night, for two or three successive weeks, they being fully determined to perish in their efforts to save them, should any attempts be made for their destruction.

The attachment of the people to their *pastors* is pro-

verbial. On their minister paying a visit to their villages, especially if accompanied by his wife and children, the expressions of regard towards them on the part of the inhabitants are enthusiastic. All, from the youngest to the oldest, pour forth to welcome them. Every eye sparkles with delight, and everything that kindness of heart can suggest is done for them. The boys vie with each other in climbing the cocoa-nut trees to refresh them with the wholesome beverage which the unripe fruit of that tree affords. They are regaled with fruit of different kinds, and seats are provided for them usually beneath a tree in some particular part of the village, the most convenient for the social interview. These are often seasons of refreshing to the aged and infirm particularly; and their kindness and gratitude are often almost overwhelming: on leaving, benedictions follow the visitors until they are out of hearing.

"God bless minister and misses, and de children! come call, come see we; give we comfort."

If unexpectedly discovered among the settlements of their own people when travelling in the interior of the country, the tidings are shouted from hill to hill, and the whole place presents a scene of joyous excitement. If compelled to leave their charge for a time from ill health, the scenes at parting are oftentimes affecting in the extreme. Of this the following occurrence may afford a specimen. It happened in the case of a missionary a few years ago. Urged to take a voyage to some cooler climate without delay, he decided on going for a few weeks to America, and on the following Sabbath announced his intention to his beloved people.

VISIT OF A MISSIONARY AND WIFE TO A PLANTATION VILLAGE.

The limits within which his absence was to be confined would, he thought, cause it to be regarded merely as a trip to the other side of the island; but in the minds of his sable flock, the big water was identified only with images of distance and danger; and it was this that made the prospect of separation so formidable: if he once embarked on that treacherous element they might see the face of their minister no more. Hence, when it was intimated that the period of his departure was unalterably fixed, feelings were excited which betokened how painful would be the struggle on the eve of embarkation. On the preceding day the mission-premises presented a moving spectacle of sadness. No one interested in the event could behold the poor creatures loitering about the house, or sitting about the yard, as though to take a long and last farewell, without the deepest emotion. Impossible as it was under such circumstances to complete the necessary arrangements, a prayer-meeting was proposed, at which the final farewell might be given *en masse*. On the following morning, though but a few were at first acquainted with the design, multitudes were knocking at the chapel-gate long before the break of day, and at five o'clock the entire chapel was crowded. The profoundest silence reigned until the minister entered the chapel. It was then broken at intervals by sighs and half-stifled sobs; whilst all eyes seemed glistening with tears. The scene spoke to the heart. It was like a funeral. A hymn was given out, which was sung in a melting tone, and with a quivering voice. One of the brethren was then called upon to pray.

He prayed and wept, and wept and prayed again: "O dow merciful and gracious God!" he uttered at intervals, "to whom all hearts is open; dow knowest dat we met togedder dis mornin to pray for dy dear minister servant before de, who dow in dy providence is about to take from we dis day. O do dow protect him on de wide big water and from cruel man, for dow hold de wind and de wave in de hollow of dy hand. Dow say no ting shall do dy prophet harm. Establish him health, and bring him back again to we, O gracious Redeemer; bring him back to we, dy poor sheep, wandering on de dark mountains widout a shepherd, dat we may praise and glorify dy holy name. But may be we may neber see him face in de flesh no more again." Here tears completely choked his utterance, and sobs became universally audible. Both minister and people were in tears; the former, however, succeeded in reading a few verses of the Scriptures and in giving out a verse of a hymn. The whole assembly now wept aloud. The place emphatically became a Bochim, "a place of weeping;" and the school children adding their shrill voices to the strain of lamentation, the service was necessarily brought to a close. Waving his pocket-handkerchief, therefore, and begging them never to cease to pray for his recovery and safe return, the pastor, with the most overwhelming feelings, uttered the word 'farewell,' and retired. Multitudes followed him to the sea side, six miles distant, and, amidst tears and lamentations, watched the boat in which he had embarked to join the vessel until it dis-

appeared behind an intervening promontory. Nor do they forget their ministers during their absence from them, as is proved by the following extract of a letter lately addressed to a missionary now in England; as also one from the teachers of the Sabbath-school:—

"July 8, 1842:—I read your letter to the dear people of your charge, and I can assure you that it is impossible for tongue to express, or heart to conceive, the feeling of joy which took possession of the whole company. Every eye seemed to sparkle with joy, and every heart to throb with delight; and had you heard the fervent petitions that ascended up to the God of all grace on behalf of yourself, your dear partner, and the ship's crew, you could not have refrained from tears. I cannot tell the number that I have had this week, telling me, when I write to minister, to remember them to him. I am sure I need not put anything into this letter but affectionate remembrances."

"July 22nd.—They (the people) have not forgotten you, and I am sure they never will, so long as memory holds her seat in each of their bosoms; and I am almost sure that had it not been for the hope they entertained of seeing you again, and of your spending your last moments with them, they would never have given you up."

July 22nd.—From two of the teachers of the Sabbath and day-schools, on behalf of the whole:—

"This is now six weeks since your departure, and we now think it the most favourable time to write to you, as we hope you are by this time nearly home. You are aware that while you were here we have

always borne that degree of attachment to, and respect for you, not only as a pastor, but a father among us. And by this you will perceive that, though you are now far away from us, you and yours are still present to our imaginations; for although we are unacquainted with the various tackings and points by which the ship goes, yet it appears to us as if we are really spectators of her in her progress across the Atlantic. We were exceedingly sorry, that, owing to the lateness of the hour at which you went on board at Port Royal, being also tired of waiting in the boat, we were unable to see the last of you; but now, as we hope you are in England, or nearly so, we think it not too late to express our good wishes towards you, and earnestly hope that the blessing and peace of God, may attend you and your dear wife, and all who go along with you; and would intreat you never to lose sight of your promise to suffer no other thought to take possession of your mind than that of coming back to labour among the people that you have for so many years been labouring amongst, and who since your departure also have been the subjects of sorrow at parting with you, and exhibited the utmost concern for your safety by their earnest supplications to Almighty God. They are cherishing the hope that you will soon have recovered your wonted strength and ability, and not many months shall have passed before they shall have the privilege of seeing you again in the flesh."

Numbers of similar cases might be cited, as well as many facts illustrative of the joyous feelings that have been expressed on the return of the messengers of peace

to their home and to their work—on the latter occasion going miles to meet them on the road, embracing their hands, and sometimes taking them up in their arms, and carrying them into the House of God, to return to Him their mutual acknowledgments and gratitude.

In their estimation there is no character or office so [illegible] that of a minister of the Gospel, and throughout the different sections of the church in general each thinks his own minister the best, and loves him the most. They esteem their sisters "very highly in love for their work's sake;" seldom speak disrespectfully of them, and are never more offended than when they are spoken lightly of by others. Having great respect and love for them themselves, they endeavour to inspire their children with the same sentiments and feelings. In cases where violence has been threatened or attempted towards them the whole surrounding country has been in a state of excitement; and in cases of death the scenes exhibited and the emotions excited are such as to exceed description. On some such occasions thousands have attended at the last sad offices, whose tears and lamentations could not fail to excite a sympathetic feeling in every bosom. A missionary, writing to a friend in England, thus describes one of these deeply-affecting scenes. It occurred at the funeral of the late Rev. F. Gardner, of Kingston.

"At the dawn of the following day when I arose I found it difficult to persuade myself but that the actual bereavement was a dream. I had, however, mournful evidences to the contrary in the looks and gestures of those whom I met upon the road. Still more sub-

stantial proofs of the reality forced themselves upon me in passing along the streets of Kingston; but on entering the mission-premises at East Queen-street I was not to be mistaken. Oh! what a heart-rending scene did I there behold!! The yard was full of mourners; multitudes hung about the doors and windows, and the house seemed crowded. How was I to encounter the sighs, and sobs, and tears of the [illegible] mass? But there was no time to hesitate. I tried to force myself through the crowd without engaging an eye or exchanging a word. It was in vain. I was surrounded—I was unmanned; whilst the cries of 'So me dear minister is gone,' uttered in anguish, seemed to unstring every fibre of my heart and loosen every nerve.

* * * *

"At length the hour appointed for the interment arrived. I need not describe the funeral procession; suffice it to say that the corpse was followed to its last abode by a train of mourners which, perhaps, either as to number or respectability, had never been exceeded on a like occasion in Jamaica. The deacons, as well as the ordinary members of the church, followed each other in regular succession and in long perspective. With the exception of the convulsive shrieks heard on the first removal of the corpse, and the half-stifled sobs now and then expressed by the crowd, all moved on in solemn silence. The chapel was crowded, and had been so from an early hour. What a scene ensued on entering! The corpse was at length forced through the crowd to the table-pew, and order again restored.

The solemn service was commenced by singing two or three verses of the hymn beginning

> "What though the arm of conquering death
> Does God's own house invade,"

and closed by an appropriate address from Mr. Tinson. The assembly was so dense that considerable apprehensions were entertained throughout the morning for the safety of the galleries; but now not less anxiety was manifested for the preservation of that decorum befitting so sacred a place, and becoming those who are taught to "sorrow not as those without hope." Every means was used to restrain the torrent of feeling within proper bounds; but, untrained to artificial restraints as are our sable brethren in general, I saw it must soon burst forth into a flood. My fears were realized. The corpse was borne along the aisle to the vault amidst cries, and groans, and other external signs of sorrow that were enough to tear one's heart-strings asunder. In the midst of silence, frequently broken by the weeping of the people, Mr. Taylor gave out a verse or two of a suitable hymn. Mr. Wooldridge prayed, and the corpse was immediately lowered down to its last sad resting-place. Sighs and tears, intermixed with convulsive cries, now became general. Of my own feelings at this particular moment I can attempt no description. I can never forget them!"

Such an astonishing change has taken place in the *individual character* of hundreds of the members of the churches that their pastors could no more question the reality of their conversion to God than they could

question their own interest in the merits of the Saviour or their faith in the essential truths of Christianity. Like the members of the church at Corinth, "they were once fornicators, and idolators, and adulterers, and thieves, and covetous, and drunkards, and revilers, and extortioners; but they have been washed, and sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God."

From the previous state of society in Jamaica, almost every individual who has been united in church-fellowship has exhibited a most striking change, both in character and conduct, while in many that change has been so great as fully to exemplify the sentiment—

> "Lions and beasts of savage name
> Put on the nature of the lamb."

As an illustration the author will mention two or three instances, out of many, which have come under his own observation. A middle-aged female was a professed teacher of the obscenities practised at the Christmas carnivals, and other nightly revels. She had a house on the outskirts of the town, into which numbers of the young of both sexes were decoyed, to the ruin both of body and soul. Dancing, revelling, and the din of savage music were here heard from week to week, and usually from Saturday evening until Sabbath morning, throughout the year, and not unfrequently during the whole of that sacred day. About sixteen years ago she was induced to hear the Gospel. It came home to her with power and the demonstration of the Spirit. Her haunt of sin was immediately abolished, and her guilty honours

and gains at once abandoned. Not long afterward, accompanied by a Christian friend, the writer called to see a female of his flock who was in dying circumstances. On entering the house he distinctly heard the voice of a female in prayer in an adjoining room, and approaching nearer, joined in the devotion. Never can he forget the occurrence—never before did he hear such a prayer. The rich experimental piety which it breathed, its appropriateness and fervour, together with the responses it drew forth from those who were present, seemed to render the chamber of sickness, obscure as it was, the very gate of heaven. When they rose from their knees, his friend exclaimed with astonishment, "Who can it be? It is some black, or coloured, female!" It was soon ascertained that it was this very individual—"this brand plucked from the fire." Immediately on her conversion, she began to do what she could to counteract the influence of her former wicked life, and from that time to the present, in addition to a most exemplary walk and conversation, she has been pursuing the same benevolent object with a steadfastness of purpose and success truly astonishing.—Another was the queen of the sets of dancing-girls mentioned in connexion with the description previously given of the Christmas carnivals, and who kept an establishment of a similar kind to that already named. It was, perhaps, less disreputable in its character, but in some respects even more demoralizing and wicked in its effects. She also heard the truth in Christ about the same time, and shortly after, like the woman out of whom were cast seven

devils, was found "sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in her right mind," a circumstance which at the time did not fail to attract general observation, and had a considerable influence in diminishing the number and destroying the organization of these depraved communities. Though less calculated for active usefulness than her former accomplice in iniquity, she has in an equal, or even in a greater degree, exhibited the milder graces of the Christian character—"bowels of mercies, lowliness, meekness, gentleness,"—steadfastly "adorning the doctrine of God her Saviour in all things."—A third, a mulatto female, was a person of some little property, and a proprietor of slaves. Of a most overbearing and tyrannical disposition, her conduct towards the unhappy victims of her power was cruel in the extreme. Her house was situated in the country near a public road, and it was proverbial that no one could pass her gate, scarcely at any hour of the day, without hearing the cries and groans of her wretched vassals under the infliction of punishment. Of these none so often felt the effects of her passion as an aged and venerable negress, for praying. A missionary went into the parish, in the hope of securing a piece of land on which to form a preaching station. Disappointed in his expectation, through the influence of a white planter and magistrate, he was returning home, depressed in mind at the apparent hopelessness of further attempts to introduce the Gospel into that benighted district, when he was met on the road by this female, attended by several of her neighbours. She heard of his failure, and after expressing herself in

strong language against the leading men of the parish for combining to keep religion out of it, requested him to follow her. They ascended a piece of rising ground a little beyond her cottage, and looking round, her eye kindling with animation, she exclaimed, "They want to keep religion out of the parish, but, minister, here is an acre of land; take it, I will give it you; build a chapel upon it; and let them meddle with it if they dare." * The offer was accepted, and her cheerful consent also given to the occupation of her house or premises for occasional services without delay. These services were accordingly commenced; and for some time, in fine weather, were carried on beneath the shade of a mango tree that spread its wide branches by the side of her cottage.† She was denounced and threatened for her conduct by the parish authorities, but with the spirit of a perfect heroine she ridiculed their menaces, and challenged any one to come upon her premises for the purpose either of molesting her or interrupting the worship. On one occasion, when the missionary was preaching beneath the tree to a considerable number of the poor slaves, a party of white men rode up to her gate, at the sight of whom the whole congregation were agitated, and were about to fly into the woods; she immediately advanced towards

* The motive by which this individual was induced to offer the ground to the missionary appears to have been a spirit of opposition to the white inhabitants.

† This was the origin of the flourishing mission establishment at Jericho, and others in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale.

the party, and shouted to them to come in; but before she reached the gate they had galloped away. The converting and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit soon took possession of her heart; and after several months' probation she was to be baptized, with several others, in a river that flowed along a part of the boundary of her little domain. The ceremony was performed at the appointed time, amidst a great concourse of spectators. The missionary regained the cottage before her. Her aged slave, whom she had so often punished for her steadfastness to Christ, was left at home to make some arrangements for the future services of the day. Scarcely had the missionary seated himself, when the tall withered form of the old African disciple appeared before him as though paralyzed; her eyes alternately fixed on some object out of doors, and her clasped hands directed ecstatically towards Heaven; he sprang from his seat to ascertain the cause, when he discovered among the trees a tall noble-looking female figure clothed in white, approaching the door. It was her mistress. In a moment they were in each other's arms, and the floor was literally sprinkled with their tears. "O, my misses," said the aged slave, "who ever tink me live to see dis day? Blessed Jesus make him poor old neger eye see such a ting before her dead." While her mistress, now no longer a mistress, but a sister beloved, implored forgiveness for her past conduct, and ascribed to the glory of her change to God. A more affecting scene was never witnessed, and never can it be obliterated from the memory. O

the transforming efficacy of redeeming grace and dying love! the

"Lion changed into a lamb,
The vulture to a dove."

The tyrant and the slave, one in Christ Jesus, falling on each other's necks and weeping tears of joy! Surely it was a spectacle that attracted the gaze and admiration of angels! Nor has the subsequent conduct of this once depraved and cruel individual deceived the expectations which were formed of the devotion of her heart and life to God. She has been a real blessing to the church, and through a series of years has maintained an unblemished reputation. During the persecutions of 1832 she exhibited a degree of moral heroism, which entitles her to a rank among the noblest of her sex. In addition to other instances of firmness and constancy, she maintained her resolution to keep her house open for the worship of God and the shelter of the missionaries, at whatever hazard, in the presence of the militia force of the parish, before which she was cited to appear in an open field.*

"Her loyalty she kept, her zeal, her love."

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* The Rev. J. Clarke, writing at the time to the Society at home, says—"Miss Cooper, the person who encouraged the preaching of the gospel here, was taken to the militia muster-ground, and was threatened by the officers, but allowed to depart without making any concessions to their unrighteous requirement, that no more preaching should be allowed on her premises. She was next, on the 30th of March, taken before a magistrate, and bound over, in the sum of 150*l.*, to take her trial at the next quarter-sessions. On the 7th of April she appeared, and traversed. I then had her case removed into the grand court; and as it was for allowing me to preach on her ground, and attending such preaching, the attorney-general never brought it forward for trial."

Instances of a similar kind, in relation to the other sex, would fill a volume; a single illustration must, however, suffice:—

"A Guinea negro," says a missionary, "whose experience we lately heard, observed respecting himself that from the time he came from the Guinea coast, 'him no able to take word, if any one offend him, me take knife, me take tick, me no satisfy till me drink him blood—now me able to take twenty word;—den me tief, me drink, ebery bad ting me do. Somebody say me must pray—me say no, what me pray for? rum best pray for me—give me someting good for eat, dat better dan pray.' 'What made you change your mind, then?' 'Massa, me go to church one Sunday, an me hear massa parson say, Jesus Christ came an *pill* him blood for *sinner*. Ah, someting say, you heary dat? Him pill him blood! Ah! so! den me de sinner, me de tief, me de drunkard! Him pill him blood for *Guinea neger!* Oh, oh! Jesus die for poo neger before him know him!'—thinking, as seems quite natural to them, that Jesus becomes acquainted with them just then, because he is just then telling them all they have done."

The crafty Eboe; the savage, violent, and revengeful Coromantee; the debased and semi-human Moco and Angolian, with those of other tribes described by historians as "hardened in idolatry, wallowers in human blood, cannibals, drunkards, practised in lewdness, oppression, and fraud; cursed with all the vices that can degrade humanity; possessing no one good quality; more brutal and savage than the wild beasts

of the forest, and utterly incapable of understanding the first rudiments of the Christian religion"—these, thousands of them, are now subdued, converted, raised to the dignity and intelligence of men, of sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty, and are bringing forth the fruits of holiness, happiness, and Heaven.

SECTION V.—Next to the salvation of his own soul, a really converted man is anxious for the salvation of the souls of others. This anxiety is manifested in an extraordinary degree by the churches in Jamaica. It is evinced by the whole tenor of their conduct. Their feelings are strong, and they "cannot but speak of the things that they have seen and heard." It is an invariable rule in the churches with which the author is acquainted, on the acceptance of a candidate for church fellowship, for the minister, deacons, or members of the church indiscriminately, to enforce upon his attention his duty to do all he can *personally* for the conversion of his fellow creatures. This is often urged by the deacons of the church with great earnestness; and the similes they employ on these as on other occasions, though homely, are much to the purpose, and seldom fail of their effect. Said one, "Now you hear what minister say; take care you no boil de pot alone," meaning that he was not to feast on the blessings of the Gospel himself without inviting his fellow-creatures to partake of them. "Suppose," said another, on a recent occasion, "you were to see a blind broder wandering by de river side ready to fall in an drown, what

you do?" "Me run to save him." "But suppose him say, 'me don't goin to drown, you must let me alone; mind you own business; if me drown, it notin to you'?" "Me must keep on coax him till me bring him away." The universal sentiment, indeed, on such occasions is, "We must do all we can to hail poor sinners like we-self, sittin in de cave of darkness, to Jesus Christ."

In their *prayers* on this subject they are generally the most animated and interesting, often exhibiting some of the finest instances of pleading with God that perhaps were ever heard. The writer scarcely ever knew an instance in which a prayer was closed without a compassionate reference to the condition, and earnest appeals for the salvation of their fellow-men. In times of prevalent sickness it is by no means an unusual occurrence for those who lead the devotions at the public prayer-meetings to be so overcome by their feelings that their utterance is completely impeded, while the whole congregation is drowned in tears. At monthly missionary prayer-meetings, especially, they often mention the inhabitants of different parts of the world by name. The darkness, degradation, and misery of Africa awaken all their sympathies. Sometimes on such occasions they revert to the scenes of their childhood, the wars in which they assisted, and the circumstances of their captivity, with as much vividness of recollection as though they were only recent occurrences, and manifest an anxiety truly indescribable for the salvation of any part of their families who may be yet alive. Nor do they forget their

brethren in bonds, or the guilty perpetrators of the slave-trade, or the missionaries. To such a degree are they sometimes drawn out in love towards their perishing fellow-creatures, that when they can particularize no further, they supplicate, in the warmth of their feelings and with true sublimity of conception, that there may be a "full Heaven and an empty hell; that they may be saved from going to that place were no sun shine, no tar twinkle."*

Nor are they content with merely *praying* for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom; they know the necessity that exists for *pecuniary contributions* to this object, and, esteeming it both their *duty* and their *privilege* thus to honour the Lord with their substance, they do so in general cheerfully, and according to their ability. Hence, says Mr. Candler, in his Journal before referred to, "My belief is that the Baptists and Methodists, who are in actual connexion, pay for church purposes of all kinds not less than twenty shillings per annum each, yielding an income to these two bodies alone of nearly 70,000*l.* per annum. The other classes of Dissenters from the Established Church depend more on extrinsic support; but these bodies probably receive 10,000*l.* per annum from the people here. These sums, which at first view appear large, are devoted to several different objects; a considerable part is applied to the building of chapels and

* With equal simplicity of language and thought, they sometimes pray—"O Lord, let dy word run from sugar-work to sugar-work, and from coffee-mount to coffee-mount, dat de whole earth may be filled with dy glory. Amen and amen."

meeting-houses, which, in this country, is attended with great expense; a chapel for 600 persons costing at least 1500*l.* sterling. The building of school-rooms, and the support of school-masters and school-mistresses is another important item, as the Baptist Missionary Society allows nothing on this head from England, and the other missionary societies only part of the expense; and the day-schools are numerous. Some part of these congregational funds are devoted to the support of the missionaries and their families, several of whom depend entirely on what they receive from the people, drawing no part of their income from the societies at home; and their expenses in some instances are necessarily large, as they are compelled to keep many horses, and travelling in Jamaica is very costly. Then we may enumerate the repairs of buildings, salaries to door-keepers, grants to missionary societies, and the help of the sick and infirm poor." It is, however, the opinion of the author that this estimate of the amount of individual contributions is much too high. From his own experience and that of his brethren in the more populous towns of the island, he is convinced that one-half the amount stated by Mr. Candler is as much as is, under any circumstances, contributed by the people.

Every one recognizes it as his duty to do something in support of the cause; and, generally speaking, in the absence of real inability from sickness or other causes, this duty is performed; and it is performed *voluntarily* and *cheerfully*.

On the subject of supporting the minister it is a

common observation, "Minister no tradesman, no merchant, no lawyer; don't come here to get a fortune; as him work for we, we must work for him."

Scarcely any object is brought before the churches in vain. The Bible, Anti-Slavery, and Missionary Societies, all secure their hearty co-operation. Individuals who neglect this duty, or whose contributions do not correspond with their ability, are reprimanded by the church, and in all cases are treated with coolness and reserve as guilty of inconsistency or sin. Covetousness, indeed, is regarded as a stain upon their profession—a disgrace upon their character—a disqualification for office in the church.

Some of the Baptist churches have supported their pastors, and to a considerable degree the out-stations and schools in their respective districts, for years; and at the annual association, in 1842, the whole of the missionaries resolved to cast themselves entirely upon their people for support. At the same time they pledged themselves on behalf of their churches to supply pecuniary means requisite for extending the work of God around them, and, to some extent, for the maintenance of an institution designed to furnish native agents both for Jamaica, the neighbouring islands, and Africa.

As stated by Mr. Candler, the greater part of the gross amount contributed by the people for religious purposes is given in trifling sums of from three-halfpence to three-pence each, the amount of their smaller coins; and these sums are given weekly. Hence it is the *number* and *continuity* of contributions that swell

the aggregate amount; as long-continued rains, descending in single drops, form the inundation, or the separate particles of water, the ocean.

As it is not generally the practice to hoard up money for events which may never occur, and exigencies that may never arise, and which might be squandered by others in idleness and dissipation, they give largely and to various objects. They contribute towards chapel-building, the abolition of the slave-trade, the dissemination of the Gospel in Africa,—to their power, yea, and beyond it. In many cases their "deep poverty abounds unto the riches of their liberality." Among Christians of all denominations it is a frequent case for field-labourers, and individuals in a small way of trade, to give from one pound to three pounds, and four pounds each, to one or other of these objects on special occasions. An aged African female, who obtained her living by the manufacture and sale of a cool and innocent beverage, brought to the author some time since a piece of gold of the value of two dollars (eight shillings sterling) towards the building of a chapel then in progress. Thinking it more than she could afford, he hesitated to accept it. Tears immediately filling in her eyes, she said, "Minister, don't it a privilege to help on God's work; and because me poor, minister don't want me to help? Me been work hard for it; rise early, sit up late, hide up one fippenny, then anoder, till me get to two dollar, den me bring it come to minister; and me must beg minister to take it." It is common for the poorest class of field-labourers, both male and female, husband and

wife, to give from one shilling to four shillings each per month for months together, towards the same objects; and sometimes, when a debt remains upon a place of worship, the congregation propose in a body to work additional hours per day, that they may at once free themselves from the incumbrance. By servants and others the same liberality is manifested. A young woman of colour, residing in the author's family, who has six shillings per week, a short time ago, after drawing small sums for her support, left in the hands of her mistress the value of four weeks' service for the African mission, two for herself and two for her aged grandmother; at the same time cheerfully contributing to every other call that was made. On his recent return to England this same individual sent eighteen shillings, the amount of three weeks' wages, as a present to some children of whom she had previously the charge as a nurse. At a public meeting not many months since a black young man, a sailor, announced, that if it pleased God to spare him to return from the voyage on which he was then about to embark, he would give fifty dollars towards the African Mission—a pledge which he nobly redeemed. Tradesmen, and others in a small way of business, have been known to give from one to three pounds and upwards repeatedly towards the liquidation of chapel debts; and in some cases the wives of individuals of this class have employed themselves in menial occupations, to which they had been unaccustomed, that they might give the proceeds of it to the house of God. In numerous instances in the country

parts of the island the congregations not only contribute towards these objects in a pecuniary way, but also by actual labour, principally in the conveyance of materials. To mention but one instance, of the many that could be selected, as a specimen. The entire church and congregation at Sligoville devoted one day in the week to this object, each class labouring in succession, and often conjointly. They thus conveyed almost all the wood materials, and no inconsiderable portion of the other requisites to the spot, bearing the more ponderous timber on their heads up an acclivity along narrow and almost inaccessible paths from the woods, full three miles distant, and carrying the rest from Spanish Town, a distance of twelve miles of steep ascent; thereby, on a moderate calculation, contributing in cheerful, energetic, voluntary labour, and that in addition to monthly pecuniary donations, the sum of three hundred pounds.

To these evidences of genuine piety may be added another, without which the former would be but of little avail. They dedicate *themselves* to God in body, soul, and spirit, and unite their efforts with their contributions and prayers. Among some of the denominations, and probably in a greater or less degree among all, it is thus with inquirers and catechumens, as well as members. A negro convert cannot but tell of "how great things the Lord hath done for him."

The Jamaica churches in general are essentially missionary churches, and each individual of which they are composed regards it as a sacred duty to do

FRONT VIEW OF CHAPEL AND DWELLING-HOUSE AT SLIGOVILLE.

something to promote the glory of God, in the salvation of his fellow men. Every one especially aims at the conversion of those with whom he is connected—his relatives, his friends, his children, his servants. Male and female, young and old, rich and poor, are thus employed. They are not only *all* at work, but it might almost be said, always at work—not only every day, but almost every hour of the day. The work of God is their employment, not their recreation. "And whatsoever their hands find to do they do it with all their might," taking advantage of every favourable occurrence that presents itself. Whether in the market, in the field, or on the public road, they seldom neglect an opportunity of speaking a word for God, and this they do with cheerfulness, and without hesitation or apology. To facilitate these operations, and to give them organisation, as well as to secure vigilant and proper oversight, a special native agency is employed by some of the denominations termed leaders and helpers. In addition to the employment of leaders, the Wesleyans and Baptists make use of tickets. The system pursued by the Wesleyans is the same as that in operation among them at home. The practice of the Baptists in some respects resembles it. It is indeed a departure from the custom of the Baptist churches in England and elsewhere, but was adopted in consequence of the law in force, during slavery, prohibiting ministers of religion visiting estates without permission from the persons in charge. It was, in these circumstances, found essential to a successful prosecution of missionary work. Where the churches

were large it was considered also so advantageous to their purity and increase, that it has been continued, with slight variations, to the present day. The leader is selected from the most pious, intelligent, and otherwise best qualified members in a particular district, and is appointed to assist the minister in the performance of his pastoral duties, by watching over the members committed to his charge, and by assisting in the work of God in general. For these purposes they visit the sick, and report their condition to the church meetings; hold prayer-meetings; meetings for exhortation, and endeavour to advance religion generally throughout their district. Tickets, which are oblong pieces of card-paper, containing the date of the year, the initials of the different months or quarters, and sometimes a passage of scripture, are given to members and inquirers—to inquirers to secure their regular attendance on the various means of grace, to bring them under strict spiritual supervision, and to afford the minister an opportunity of seeing them personally once a quarter, when such tickets are renewed or exchanged, and to enable him to ascertain the regularity, or otherwise, with which they discharge their external duties. They are given to the members, for the additional purpose of guarding the table of the Lord from the intrusion of improper characters, and as a guarantee to Christians of the same faith and order of their good character and standing in the churches to which they belong. In further pursuance of the plan adopted by the Wesleyans, contributions of the people to the several objects of the station

(amounting to sixpence each or upwards) are usually given at the time these tickets are changed or renewed. The practice, however, varies in many respects with almost every church and congregation.

Whenever any of the more private members succeed in awakening religious concern in the minds of others, they usually introduce them to the class to which they themselves belong, and to the house of God. After a term of probation such individuals are usually brought up to the minister by their respective leaders, as new recruits (so sometimes pleasantly called), for tickets, and to be enrolled in the list of inquirers, the minister at the same time conversing with them, and endeavouring to ascertain their sincerity.

Every member of each class endeavours to increase his own numbers, and manifests especial concern for the consistency and spiritual improvement of those he has been instrumental in bringing to a knowledge of the truth.

When strangers are seen in the house of God they are uniformly treated with kindness, many vying with each other for the honour of securing them as an addition to their lists. They are conversed with, and most probably invited to attend a social prayer-meeting held during the interval of worship or at the close of the day. This done, attention and kindness are renewed, and the result almost invariably is, that the individual becomes an inquirer.

In cases of ungodly neighbours, and others suffering under temporal losses, relative bereavements, or personal afflictions, the members and inquirers indiscrimi-

nately visit them, proffer their assistance for domestic purposes, and in some cases relieve necessities that may exist. At the same time, while the heart is tender and susceptible of impression, these poor people talk to their afflicted friends, pray with and for them, repeat their visits and efforts, sometimes invite the attendance of their minister on these objects of their solicitude, and, under circumstances of hopeful recovery, obtain from the latter a promise of attendance at the house of God. In the one case it is not unusual for a Christian negro to bend the knees of an inquiring penitent and teach him to pray for himself; in the other, to watch the impression produced upon his mind by the sermon, and to enforce the great truths of it upon his attention afterwards, and thus persevering until (which is a frequent case) their efforts and prayers are crowned with a blessing from on High.

Exclusive of regular class-meetings, it is a practice for members to hold prayer-meetings in each other's houses, to which, in pursuance of the same great object, they invite their neighbours, friends, or any strangers who may happen to be passing by. Tradesmen, pedlars, and even servants removing from one family to another, or to any other part of the island, act upon the same principle, so that efforts for the salvation of their fellow men constitute, in a word, the great work of their lives—their calling—some actually making it their business, as frequently as opportunities occur, to go from house to house, from estate to estate, and from the town to the country, for this purpose.

The effects of such exertions in some instances would

almost exceed belief. An aged black man, from a property six miles distant, hearing Mr. Coultart preach in Kingston soon after his arrival, was savingly converted to God, and beginning immediately to tell "what a dear Saviour he had found," was instrumental in the conversion of between 100 and 200 persons who contributed to the origin of the church at Spanish Town. Numbers of these yet survive, and have, through a long course of years, sustained an honourable Christian character. Two of them, now far advanced in life, have been deacons of the church at Spanish Town from the period of its formation, upwards of twenty-five years ago, to the present time, their characters unsullied by a single stain, and having their names enrolled in the chronicles of heaven as among the most devoted and useful, as well as the most faithful and devout of the church below.

A respectable coloured female, resident in Spanish Town, who has been a member of the same church nearly the same length of time, and who has also maintained an equally unblemished reputation, has been the instrument in the hands of God in bringing upwards of a thousand persons under the sound of the Gospel, and thereby to the footstool of mercy and the fellowship of the church, who, humanly speaking, but for her efforts, would have lived and died without hope and without God in the world. Though scarcely possessing sufficient means for her support, she has devoted the last twenty years of her life almost wholly to the work of God. It is her meat and drink. From day to day, and from year to year, is she found in-

viting sinners, encouraging the penitent, devising and superintending plans for the conversion of the young, sheltering the persecuted, warning the careless, and endeavouring to reclaim the backslider—labouring almost night and day, and that often with a perseverance and courage, under adverse circumstances, which at once evinces the purity of her motives and the integrity of her heart.

Instances of similar self-devotion are so common that it is difficult to make a selection. The following relates to an aged black female in the country. She invited the ministers of the Gospel to preach in the village in which she resides, accommodated them, assisted in and superintended the erection of a place of worship on her own premises, travelled round the neighbourhood to invite sinners to attend it, and oftentimes stood at her door by the road-side, particularly on a market-day, and addressed almost every individual who passed by on the subject of his eternal interest. She frequently devised expedients for detaining some of these passengers, addressing them with a natural eloquence and fervour truly astonishing. Under her vivid and powerful representations of the love of Christ, and the base ingratitude of sinners to him in return, the writer has seen the tear of penitence roll down the cheek of the persons addressed, and then has he seen her lead them to the house of prayer, and heard her almost agonise with God that he would break still more their rocky heart, and make them give themselves up at once and entirely to the Saviour. Regardless of persecution or temporal loss,

she would even address white people on the subject of religion, and few of them could gainsay the wisdom or spirit by which she spake; and through her instrumentality, directly and indirectly, hundreds have put on Christ, by an open profession, who have generally adorned it by a consistent walk and conversation.

Some years ago an intelligent servant, then a slave, who was a member of the church at Spanish Town, came to her minister in great concern, saying she was about to remove with her mistress and family to Falmouth, where she would be deprived of all means of spiritual instruction. Her minister presented her with a Bible, and, knowing her ardent love to Christ, and her zeal for the promotion of his glory, encouraged her to hope that she might be taken there, in the providence of God, to open the way for the preaching of the Gospel in that town and neighbourhood, at the same time recommending her to exert herself to the utmost for this object. She did so, seizing opportunities as she could obtain them from her daily work. She talked to her fellow-servants, went from house to house on the same errand of love, held prayer-meetings, formed a class, and so successfully persevered in her benevolent efforts that in the course of two or three years she collected a number of between 200 and 300 souls, whom she presented to the missionary who first opened the station as her children in the Gospel. After some further probation, and an investigation of their character and qualifications, the greater part of them were baptized, and formed the origin of the church at Falmouth. Among the first

fruits of her pious labours were two of her fellow-servants, who were baptized by the author in Spanish Town, whither they had come with their master on his annual visit as a member of the council. One of them was chosen a deacon of the church at Falmouth, and both himself and this devoted woman have ever since been among its most useful members and distinguished ornaments. Several cases have occurred in which female servants have been instrumental in the conversion of their mistresses. The writer is personally acquainted with six such cases; two were wives of clergymen of the Church of England, and the others ladies of equal respectability, while numbers have been induced to go to the house of God as the result of the importunities of their dependants. The influence of pious servants in this respect among the higher and middling classes of society in Jamaica will never be known until the resurrection of the just. Finding their inspiration in their theme, it may be said of these devoted people that, "Daily in the Temple and in every house they cease not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." Similar to the plan pursued by the ordinary members of the church is that adopted by Sunday-school teachers. They endeavour to increase the prosperity of their schools by personal visits and applications for scholars, seeking after absentees, and visiting the sick. At a suitable age the children are taken from the schools, and formed into Bible classes, which are placed under the care of respectable and intelligent members of the church. Thus all classes receive individual attention and personal instruction. "Each

sapling is trained and nourished until it becomes a tree."

SECTION VI.—Satisfactory to every real Christian as must be such evidences of the real piety of our Jamaica churches, there is yet another to be added which is perhaps still more interesting and decisive. Thousands have proved the sincerity of their profession, and the firmness of their confidence, on the day of affliction and in the hour of death. These are seasons when the *reality* of religion is brought to the *test*, and no where is it more severely tested than in a land where sickness so often terminates fatally, and with so little warning. The experience and conduct of Christian negroes and their descendants under such circumstances have been truly astonishing. Their uniform calmness, their patience, their resignation, their deep spirituality of mind, their ardent relish for holy conversation—all indicate the existence of divine and holy principle.

Calling on an aged and devoted deacon of the church who was confined by sickness, and discovering a sadness in his countenance, his pastor inquired the cause. He replied, "I am like the Apostle minister was preaching about lately. I have no wish to stand longer in this sinful world. I desire to be with Christ, which is far better. But sometimes, when I think of the family (his class), my heart sinks; some of them are careless and upstart, and I am obliged to coax them; but if another one come, who don't know their temper, may be, they get vex, and so scatter about and forsake the fountain of living water! But"—

(here he paused, and, detecting the spirit of self-sufficiency which dictated the latter sentence, he added)—"but who is me, poor old man, God cannot take care of him own if I am dead? You see, minister, how my wicked heart and the devil work." Here he looked upward, and ejaculated for more of the grace of God, to keep him humble, and that his eye, as he expressed it, might be kept more steady on "precious Master Jesus."

Another, under circumstances somewhat similar, after manifesting a full assurance of hope as to her own interest in the merits of the Redeemer, said, "There is but one thing that troubles me; I have not been so faithful to the souls committed to my care as I ought to have been. O, if I should have ruined any by my neglect! This is the only thing I desire to live for, that I may labour to show them more of their own sinfulness—their need of more entire dependence upon the righteousness of Christ, and more of the Holy Spirit's influences, to renew and sanctify their hearts. I have sometimes fretted when any of them have walked contrary, and have been ready to give up the work; but I pray my Heavenly Father to forgive me, and try me again, if it be his blessed will; if not, I am ready to go. 'Father, not my will, but thine be done.'"

Multitudes in their last moments have exhibited a tranquillity which death could not ruffle, and a confidence which the king of terrors could not shake. "'That poor man's life must be a misery to him," said a gentleman to a missionary, who was conducting him

round a negro village, alluding to an aged negro who sat at the door of a lonely hut, suffering from a loathsome disease. "Poor creature! and he seems to be forsaken by the rest of the people." The old man caught the words, and looking benignantly at the speaker, replied, with considerable animation, "No, me no poor cretur; me family very good, give me someting to eat, and Massa Jesus too good to me, poo sinner; him give me comfort here" (putting his hand upon his heart).

Minister. "Well, but are you not almost tired of carrying about your poor afflicted body?"

Negro. "No, minister, you poo neger can't tired; me sittin down waiten for Massa Jesus to call; den me go an left me poo body behind." Lifting his eyes up to Heaven, he said with a smile, "There him is; him looking down pon me; and it seems like him say, 'keep heart little longer, me soon come call for you now;' so, minister, me satisfy. Me bin waiten-boy for Buckra once, an me bleedge to wait for massa time; now me sarvant for Massa Jesus, and me can't patient wait fo him time?"

To one who had been active in bringing strangers to the house of God, and under other means of Christian instruction, but who, it was feared, sometimes betrayed a self-righteous spirit, his pastor observed, "Take care you don't deceive yourself; your heart is wicked and deceitful; and perhaps it is the devil who tells you you will go to Heaven, because you have done a little good to your fellow creatures." "Me minister," said the dying saint, whose body was rapidly

dissolving under the influence of a burning fever; "minister, me tank you, God bless you; give me warning, but no, no. What work me done for God? me poor ting, no; me hang only pon Massa Jesus' precious blood, same like de dying tief who hang upon de cross; me same sinner like him."

"It is a solemn thing to go into the presence of a heart-searching God; don't you feel afraid at the thought?" "Minister sometime read to we about de prodigal son. Him fraid to go back to him fader house?"

"But how do you know that God is your father?" "Me heart tell me so; me tick to him same like de skin tick to me poo dyin flesh; and, minister, Massa Jesus no promise?"

He expired in the midst of convulsive pain—the breaking up of the partition which stood betwixt his soul and the sight of that Being who was present with him in his sickness, and who was about to manifest himself to him in all the fullness of joy.

"We have had much sickness," says a missionary, "among our members of late, and many deaths, as also some pleasing testimonies of their happy prospects. A poor negro man called to invite me to the sick bed of his friend: I went, there he is stretched upon a mattress which lies on the floor, his hands folded and resting on his breast, with his eyes shut apparently in earnest prayer. After the lapse of a minute or two he opened his eyes, and stretching out his hand, said, 'Ah, massa, you know Adam! here him lie now, me often hear you voice in prayer; me often hear you

praise; once more, massa, let me hear your voice. O sing, sing de praise of Jesus once more; and den may be while you sing, me steal away to Jesus." Placing his wrist upon the finger points of the other hand, and raising his elbow to give the hand a rapid descent, so that nothing could rest upon it, said, 'So the world tan wi me now, it ready to trow me off, but den O me hope, me hope, though me no sure, me will den fall into the arms of Jesus.' Another said, after I had talked with him and prayed, and was leaving, 'Farewell! to-morrow, massa, before sun rise on you, me shall be wi Jesus [so he was]; me shall go singing from this bad world' [so he did]."

"A negro woman at the parish-house, being near death, sent for me. I found her in a very small room on the floor by the bed of her mistress, her mistress standing by. I told her of her worthlessness. 'O yes, me noting worth, me know, but me *must* go to Jesus. So long me do bad, me conduct to Jesus very bad.' I said, 'Yes, you deserve hell.' 'O yes, though me no know what hell mean; but if it mean, me *get* bad for *do* bad, me deserve to get de worst; but me must hope and try Jesus.' 'Do you think Jesus will receive you?' 'Ah, massa, him no lub me when me well! yes, him love me den, now him send sick, *him no going to throw me off now.* No, no! now me sick and near de grave, none care for me poor neger like my Jesus.'"

These are instances of patient waiting and steady confidence on the part of the simple-hearted Christians of our churches—it is true piety displayed by the

depth, the sublimity, the moral ardour, the mental calm, the unfeigned reverence, the cheerful affiance, and in the simplicity in which it presents itself to the Father of Spirits and searcher of hearts. The scenes beheld at such periods are triumphant: oftentimes the faith of the dying, treading the firm ground of the promise, appears at once to enter within the veil, and to lay hold on eternal life, while angels seemed to beckon them away, as if in waiting to convey their happy spirits to the purchased possession. One could scarcely fail to be reminded of Jacob at Penuel, of Moses on the Mount, or of David, and Simeon and Paul, in their expiring moments. An interesting individual of colour, arrested by the hand of death in the prime of life, shortly after a severe relative bereavement, sent for the writer to visit him. In the early part of his affliction, and for many previous years, he "went about to establish his own righteousness, not submitting to the righteousness which is of God by faith." His views became gradually clear and comprehensive, and a short time before he died his mind was filled with joy unspeakable. Looking at his children, who were soon to be left orphans, he said, "For a long time I feared I could not leave them; the thought was like a dagger to my heart; but now I can give them up without a pang; 'the Lord will provide for them.' I can trust his promise, he cannot lie. I am now ready." Then clasping his hands, and looking upward in ecstacy, he exclaimed, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly! Why tarry the wheels of thy chariot?" A fit of coughing

seized him as the result of this effort, and he ruptured a blood-vessel. A swoon succeeded, from which recovery seemed impossible. But he rallied; and looking around with astonishment on his weeping relatives and friends he uttered at intervals, as his breathing allowed him, "And am I come back again?—Oh, what happiness have I enjoyed! I have been in Heaven! I have heard the angels sing! I have seen the Lamb in the midst of the throne: O, that you could have seen what I have seen! Alas! that I am here again; but it will be only for a moment. This has been but a foretaste of the glory that yet remains —a sip of the river of life; what will it be to drink of it through eternity?" He now summoned his remaining strength, and addressed all present with an earnestness and sweetness of manner almost seraphic, and soon after expired, with a hope full of immortality.

Never before did the writer enter into the spirit of those beautiful lines,—

> "When one that holds communion with the skies
> Has filled his urn whence these pure waters rise,
> And once more mingles with us meaner things,
> 'T is even as if an angel shook his wings!
> Immortal fragrance fills the circuit wide
> That tells us whence his treasures are supplied."

Similar to the dying experience of this individual were the last moments of an aged female, who for many years had eminently adorned the doctrine of God her Saviour. Her calmness—her heavenly mindedness—her almost complete abstractedness from the world—her love to Christ, and zeal for

his glory, in the salvation of her fellow-creatures, had been long remarkable, but towards the closing scene of her life all the graces of the Spirit seemed matured and ripened. Being greatly respected in the town and neighbourhood, numbers of persons of all classes successively crowded around her bed to take a last farewell. Her chamber seemed the verge of Heaven. She was often in raptures indescribable. These feelings were caught in some degree by her pious attendants, and the intervals from pain and repose were passed in reading passages of Scripture, in singing, holy conversation, and prayer. She seemed assimilated to the spirits of the just made perfect—in a mortal body, indeed, yet detached from mortality—in the midst of her relatives and friends, yet wholly separated from them. The careless and gay amongst her visitors were struck with astonishment at the happiness she enjoyed, and at the fervour and force of her appeals and exhortations to them, and many, as well as the servants about the premises, seemed involuntarily to say, "how sweet and awful is this place! Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." She died singing those beautiful lines beginning—

"See the kind angels at the gates
Inviting me to come;"

in which she was joined, at her request, by the christian friends whom she had now summoned around her bed.

Numerous instances have also occurred, in which teachers and children in Sabbath-schools, under dying

circumstances, have exhibited views of the plan of salvation equally clear, evidences of their personal interest in the Saviour equally satisfactory, and happiness no less really the result of the transforming, sanctifying, transporting, influence of divine and sovereign grace, than those of riper years. One little black boy, about twelve years of age, for some days before his death was almost incessantly speaking about Christ and the heavenly world. Although almost blind from the effects of the disease of which he suffered, he often sat up on his lowly bed and addressed his schoolfellows on these subjects, imploring them to repent and return to God, through Jesus Christ, that they might meet him in Heaven, and otherwise speaking and acting, so as to draw numbers of even irreligious neighbours to the house to listen to his admonitions. Among the last words he was heard to articulate, and which he had often repeated, were, "God is my Father, Christ is my Redeemer, the Holy Spirit is my Sanctifier, and Heaven is my home."

Another, about the same age, whose immediate relatives were of disreputable character, earnestly begged them to send for his minister. Fearing lest his anxiety on this account might accelerate the progress of the disease, a messenger was at length dispatched in haste for him. When he arrived, the room was crowded with the schoolfellows of the child, who, with his mother and other relatives and friends, were overwhelmed with grief. He immediately recognised his minister, and asked him to pray for him and for his mother, requesting him afterwards to talk to his

parent, adding that he could not die happily until his mother made a promise to go to the house of God. Having answered various questions which were proposed to him in a manner that far exceeded expectation, he beckoned the minister to come nearer to him, and whispered, "Mother don't like to part with me, but I don't wish to live; I wish to go to my precious Saviour—to live with him, where there is no sin. I am not afraid to die; I feel quite happy." He then requested his schoolfellows to sing. He was asked what hymn. He said "Vital," meaning "Pope's Ode." He survived but a few hours, and then, young as he was, ascended to his Father, and his God.

These instances might be greatly multiplied, but another only must suffice. It is the case of one of the first female scholars in the Sabbath-school at Spanish Town, and who subsequently became one of its steadiest and most devoted teachers. With the exception of one or two departures from consistency, which her pastor regarded as the effect of her natural liveliness of disposition, and which were painful to her in the retrospect, she gave him no occasion to speak to her in the language of reproof. Her death was among the most tranquil, happy, and triumphant of any that have been recorded. When the writer entered her apartment for the last time, which was after an absence of some months from the island, he found her sitting upon her bed propped up by pillows, awaiting his arrival; and never will he forget the circumstances of the interview. Eagerly grasping his hand, she faintly articulated, "See, here I am, minister, only

sitting up waiting your return, which I have been praying for, and which my heavenly Father has been so good as to allow me to see," and then lifting up her eyes to heaven, glistening with love and gratitude and tenderness, she exclaimed, "Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord! O Death, where is the sting; O Grave, where is thy victory? the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law; but blessed be God who giveth me the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Disease had made rapid inroads upon her once apparently sound and vigorous constitution, and it was evident that death had already begun to execute his commission. It was late in the evening when this visit was paid, and the writer hastened home, purposing to see her again on the following morning; but he saw her no more. During the interval she had resigned her happy spirit into the hands of him who gave it. Shortly after his departure, she handed her Bible to a female friend and attendant, requesting her to read a favourite chapter, after which a verse or two of a hymn was sung, and prayers offered; in the midst of this latter exercise she expired without a struggle or groan. She departed to be with Christ,—and sweetly fell asleep in Jesus.

"Night-dews fall not more gently to the ground,
Nor weary, worn-out winds expire more soft."

Upwards of four hundred persons, including the teachers and children of the Sabbath school, followed her remains to the grave; the setting sun, to which

the departed bore in one respect so striking a resemblance, bursting upon the procession as it turned an angle of the street, afforded a subject to one deeply interested in that event which absorbed his contemplations, until they arrived at a kind of family receptacle which was embosomed in a clump of trees. By this time twilight had thrown a softened light on every object around—and from the general solemnity of the scene—the many recollections of painful interest it excited, and the rapid approach of darkness, the ceremony was soon performed, and the mourners who had hitherto restrained their grief, or had expressed it in half-stifled sobs, now gave full vent to their feelings, and "dropping tears upon the grave," retired. As previously proposed, the bereaved, and many of the spectators proceeded to the House of God, and there, while the heart was yet tender and susceptible of impression, the minister endeavoured to improve the event. On the following Sabbath he preached a funeral sermon for her from 1 Cor. xv. 55—57, almost the last words she was distinctly heard to utter. There was a crowded auditory, and from the pulpit it presented a truly affecting scene. Although several days had passed away since the removal of their young friend to her long home, the circumstance had lost none of its interest, especially with the youthful part of the congregation. It was evident that they had been bereaved, and they had a heart to feel the loss they had sustained. The solemn service was commenced by singing the 176th hymn in the Sunday Scholar's Companion.

"Death has been here, and borne away
A sister from our side;
Just in the morning of her days,
As young as we, she died."

Pope's Ode, as founded on the language of the text, followed the prayer, and 18th hymn, Book I. (Dr. Watts) succeeded the sermon,—

"Hear what the voice from heaven proclaims
For all the pious dead;
Sweet is the savour of their names,
And soft their sleeping bed."

The verses were sung principally by the teachers and children of the Sabbath-school, and in such a tone of sympathy and pathos as could not fail to affect the feelings and the heart. Great solemnity pervaded the whole congregation, and from this and other favourable symptoms, reasonable and earnest hopes were entertained that both the event and the circumstances connected with it would be sanctified and blessed to many, both young and old; hopes that were fully realized, as not fewer than seven, chiefly young persons, were savingly impressed with the solemnities of the evening, and are now following the deceased as she followed Christ—ornaments to the Church and blessings to all around them.

"I saw the end of time, the incipient birth
Of the new heavens and new-created earth.
Saw I the negro? Yes, I saw him there
In those bright robes the Saviour's followers wear."

To several of the topics enumerated in this and the preceding chapter, much might have been added illustrative, not only of the sincere and devoted piety pos-

sessed and exemplified by the Jamaica churches, but also of the great results of philanthropic effort in general which has been brought under review. Such additions, however, the author regarded as quite unnecessary, convinced as he is that no true Christian can reflect upon the statements already made, in connexion with the satisfactory and undeniable evidence adduced, without exclaiming with grateful emotion, "What hath God wrought?" "It is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in our eyes."

To give a consecutive view of the various instrumental causes which have contributed to these great results, will be the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENTAL CAUSES TO WHICH THESE GREAT RESULTS ARE TO BE ATTRIBUTED.

Abolition of the Slave Trade—Efforts of the African Institution—Of Anti-slavery and Agency Societies—Establishment and Operation of Schools—Circulation of Bibles and Tracts—Moral Influence exerted by Missionaries—Their Efforts for the Improvement of the Temporal Condition of the People—Insurrection or Disturbances in 1832 and 1833—Establishment and Operation of Schools—Peculiar System of Instrumentality employed by the larger Churches—Spirit of Prayer possessed by the People—The preaching of the Gospel, accompanied by the Influence of the Holy Spirit.

It is an axiom in philosophy that every effect must have an adequate cause. If it be interesting to the statesman to mark the gradations through which nations, once barbarous and uncivilized, have passed, till at length they have become distinguished for their social refinement, their political, or commercial greatness: it cannot be less gratifying to the Christian to trace the various steps which have led to the moral and spiritual renovation of any portion of our race; by which the "word of the Lord has grown mightily and prevailed,"—"liberty been proclaimed to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound."

Foremost in the list of causes which have contributed to this great result in Jamaica is to be placed the formation of the Society for the Abolition of the *Slave-trade*. Almost all the mild and benignant laws enacted for the benefit and protection of the negro slave were of subsequent date to the first agitation of the question by the British Parliament, and may therefore be fairly presumed to have been suggested by that movement. By diminishing the number of the victims of this accursed traffic, the abolition lessened in an equal proportion that amount of ignorance, superstition, and profligacy, which was the necessary result of every fresh importation from Africa.

So long as this nefarious system continued it seemed to present an insurmountable obstacle, not only to social, but especially to moral and religious improvement. Its injurious effects were felt not only by the black, but equally by the whole mass of the white and coloured population. Hence its abolition must be regarded as having materially contributed to that series of events which led to the result described in the preceding chapters. By changing in some degree the relative position of the proprietor and the slave, by awakening in the bosom of the latter a sense of the atrocious wrongs of which he was the subject, and by making the former, for his own interest, more tenacious of the life and comfort of his living chattels, as well as, by leading the degraded African to imitate the manners and customs of his white oppressors, one great obstacle was removed, and the way prepared for the final triumph of civilization, morality,

and religion. The abolition of the slave-trade led to the destruction of *slavery itself*. The champions of abolition, in searching for evidence by which to sustain their allegations respecting the monstrous cruelties and atrocities of the inhuman traffic, discovered that the "half had not been told them," and that even should they succeed in their efforts, the wretched offspring of those already imported would be left, doomed to hopeless and interminable bondage. As the result of this conviction the African Association was formed, one object of which was to collect and diffuse such information as might awaken the public mind, excite its sympathies, and secure its co-operation in the further prosecution of their great and God-like undertaking.

The African Association was succeeded by the Anti-Slavery Society, whose efforts were still more especially directed to the entire extermination of the existing system; and which, by its ample means of information, its effective agency, and well-conducted periodicals, diffused far and wide the horrifying facts it had collected. So deep was the impression thus made upon the public mind that it led, in 1823, to the memorable resolutions of Mr. Canning, and in 1832 to the Apprenticeship scheme. By the better informed of the abolitionists this latter measure, though hailed by many as a boon, was clearly foreseen to be fraught with fresh woes to the unhappy objects of their sympathy. Soon their worst fears were realized; and the report of the missionaries, sustained by the personal observations of Messrs. Sturge, Harvey, Lloyd, Scoble, and Stuart, whose statements were reiterated through

the land, from the pulpit, the platform, and the press, at length resulted, as has already been stated, in the bestowment of full and complete emancipation.

In order to form a correct estimate of the bearing of this great measure upon the moral and religious condition of Jamaica, it is necessary to bear in mind that it was a blessing bestowed upon a people already prepared for its reception. And by what means had that preparation been effected? By *education*. One of the first acts of missionaries was the establishment of schools: and, long before the abolition of slavery, these institutions had exerted a most beneficial influence over the negro population. It was chiefly by their influence that the long-cherished notion of the mental inferiority of the African race was exploded—that they acquired an increased acquaintance with the word of God—that they were taught to regard themselves as *men*—rational, responsible, and immortal beings. More acutely than in the days of absolute ignorance did they then feel the thraldom by which they were bowed down. Their unredressed grievances became increasingly palpable, and assumed a dilated form. While education had enlarged their views it increased the sensibilities of their minds: the "iron entered into their souls." In the meantime the instructions of the missionaries, and the precepts of the Gospel which had taken possession of their hearts, enabled them to submit to their condition with patience, trusting to the British people, under God, for that deliverance which they believed to be at hand.

Since that auspicious event, when liberty and hope first dawned in reality upon these long oppressed descendants of Ham, the value and importance of schools have become increasingly apparent. The knowledge they conveyed was the knowledge of the Scriptures—the knowledge of light and truth. Thousands of coloured and black children have drunk at these living streams: while the most salutary habits of virtue were planted and confirmed. The multiplied blessings which they have been the means of communicating compel the beholder to exclaim with astonishment and gratitude—"what hath God wrought!"

Schools contributed in a very considerable degree to promote the *temporal* interest of the people, enabled many of the negro race to find their way into public offices, fitted them to become confidential servants in mercantile establishments, to become subordinate managers of estates, and properties in general, as well as to fill other important situations, to which without these advantages they could never have aspired.

Nor were the *moral* results of education less conspicuous. It inspired feelings of self-respect and self-confidence — taught the people that character was essential—showed them the advantages of civilization —gave them a taste for the enjoyment of domestic life, and created a relish for those pleasures or acquirements which stimulate the industry and transform the aspect and character of society—refining the habits and awakening the charities of the pupils—softening their hearts and restraining their passions. Nor is it too much to affirm that hundreds of inter-

esting young females have thus been saved from prostitution, enabled to form reputable matrimonial connexions, and who are now living in comfort and respectability.

The influence which schools have exerted upon the *religious* condition of the people has, perhaps, never been exceeded in any part of the world. "They have supplied a large tributary stream to the church." In the metropolitan schools, where, during the last ten years, nearly 300 children have been in daily attendance, it is believed that *full one half* have been savingly converted to God,* while the rest have been

* "A few years ago," says a missionary, "a gentleman of colour came from the country to reside in Spanish Town, bringing with him a large family of children, which he had by two sisters, his slaves, and begged me to take two or three of them into the schools on the easiest terms the institution would allow. Knowing that he was much reduced in his circumstances, and that the children had been in every sense of the word deplorably neglected, I offered to educate the whole on his paying a trifling consideration yearly for the eldest, a girl, who seemed to be about thirteen years of age. They all accordingly attended the schools, and continued regular in their attendance for several years. Now I have the high gratification to state, that, out of that whole number, *only two have turned out irreligious characters.* Of the rest, one died when a scholar, a most triumphant death; four are exemplary and useful members of a Christian church; and the others, some of whom are still at school, and, with one exception, connected with a Bible-class, already afford pleasing indications of piety. Three of the four just mentioned as decidedly pious are now in charge of schools under my direction, and one is respectably married. Two of the younger ones succeeding next in age are being trained at the Metropolitan Normal School for Teachers; and I am not without hopes that, in a short time, the whole family will be thus devoted and useful.

"Soon after the children were received into the school, the parents also attended the house of God. The mothers almost immediately abandoned their evil habits; and, in the course of a few months, they exhibited such a decided and happy change of heart and conduct that

brought under an influence which may, at no distant period, become productive of the same blessed results. Many of these are now governesses and school-masters, or assistant missionaries, the latter of whom, in addition to their other duties, carry on divine worship, and conduct various religious services during the week. In the Spanish Town district alone, including female teachers, there are no less than twelve of these pious and devoted agents, irrespective of those who in other parts of the island occupy similar situations.

In Jamaica, schools have already proved emphatically the nurseries of the churches, and to them are the missionaries confidently looking for a succession of well qualified native agents, who shall "prepare the way of the Lord," and proclaim the glad tidings of mercy, not only in the still destitute portions of their own land, but throughout the islands of the west—in Africa, and the contiguous continent of South America.

they were admitted as members of the church under my pastoral care. To this day they continue steady and exemplary in their lives and profession. It was my long cherished hope that the father also would prove himself to be a brand plucked from the fire; and by some it is still thought that his repentance was sincere, but his destiny has long since been determined by an unerring Judge. At his decease both the mothers and the children were cast almost unknown and unbefriended on the world; but the latter, from the knowledge which the oldest of them had acquired in the schools of a few of the mechanic arts, as well as of reading, writing, and arithmetic (a school of industry being then connected with the establishment), have, by the blessing of God, supported themselves in comfort and respectability, whilst the surviving parents have abundantly realized the promise of God to those who trust in him, that their bread should be given them, and their water should be sure."

The circulation of the *Scriptures* has been productive of incalculable benefits. It has not only inspired a regard for the word of God, never previously felt, but has greatly increased the demand for its possession, as well as the ability and desire to read it. In a variety of respects it has operated most favourably, not only upon the spiritual but upon the moral and intellectual condition of the people. At first but few of the negroes were able to read; but, once possessed of the Book of God, they could not rest satisfied till they had become acquainted with its sacred contents. In numerous instances the aged and infirm were taught to read by their children and grand-children. Boys and girls from the schools were frequently engaged, after school hours, as teachers of adults; and hundreds, by the mere *possession* of a Bible, were induced to avail themselves of those means of instruction which almost every missionary-station afforded. By obtaining the assistance of others to read it to them, the knowledge of divine truth was also greatly extended. On inquiring of those who made application for Bibles, whether they could read, the frequent answer was returned, "No, but me like to have God's book in de house, so me can look upon it, and it bring good toughts into me mind; make me tink of de word minister preach to we. Me can't read it now, but me hope to read it soon—me goin to get one broder to larn me. Besides, when a broder come to me house who can read, me beg him fo read God's word fo me, and den me go call de family to come sit down, and heary it read; and me feel much comfort." Sometimes house-ser-

vants have assured the missionary that they wanted a Bible, "because dey would try and get young misses and massa to read it to dem, and den, perhaps, God would bless it to dem all;" and in hundreds of instances has this pleasing hope been verified. To such means, indeed, in connexion with pious example, much of the great change discoverable in the moral and religious habits of the upper classes of society is to be attributed. The circulation of *tracts* has also been followed by similar results. The various publications of the Religious Tract Society, being very widely disseminated throughout the island, proved instrumental in exciting a thirst for religious knowledge, and contributed to the more general diffusion of divine truth, not only among the negroes, but also in many instances among the white population. During the last few years it was no uncommon occurrence for individuals of the first respectability to send for tracts by their servants, regarding their bestowment as a favour, and expressing the pleasure and profit their perusal afforded. Frequently, indeed, have those who but a few years since would have regarded these silent messengers with disgust and aversion expressed their obligation for the supplies with which they had been furnished. At some of the stations from 10,000 to 12,000 tracts were circulated annually, some of which found their way into every house, both small and great, throughout the district. Every missionary-station was in reality, besides an educational establishment, a Bible and tract depôt, whence rays of light continually emanated to all the surrounding

neighbourhood, producing results, the full magnitude and importance of which only the day of final decision will fully disclose.

The *moral* influence exerted by the *missionaries* powerfully contributed to the change which has taken place. In so depraved a community as that of Jamaica the very presence of such a person was productive of an amount of good which can scarcely be estimated. It awakened many a virtuous youthful association—made many an appeal to the conscience, and excited many a feeling of self-conviction and self-reproach. To the missionary it was that the negro uniformly looked with confidence for sympathy and redress; while, on the other hand, the master feared that by the same agency his deeds of darkness would be known and exposed to the world. "You have no missionary here to listen to your complaints, or to take your part," was an observation frequently addressed to the slave when his task-master wished to perpetrate some deed of cruelty and wrong.

Being wholly independent of local influence, the missionaries were almost the only individuals on the island who *dared* to interfere between the oppressor and the oppressed. Yet in no one instance did they thus interfere, until compelled by the increasing efforts made to frustrate the objects of their mission. When they saw the members of their churches punished for praying to their Maker—when they beheld that accursed system, under which the island groaned, aiming to quench the light of heaven, to close the avenues to the tree of life, and to consign its

helpless victims, not only to degradation and misery in this world, but to everlasting torment in another—then, and not till then, did they feel their obligation to attempt its utter extinction, and resolve never to relax in their efforts until their object was accomplished.

Though from the first they had regarded it as their bounden duty to inculcate upon the victims of misrule and oppression, obedience to the civil authorities, and patient submission to their nameless wrongs, yet now impelled by justice, humanity, and religion, they fearlessly published to the world the atrocities they had witnessed, and thus supplied the material by which the philanthropists of Britain were enabled to move the nation in their favour.

As an act of revenge, and as a means of avoiding that crisis which they believed to be at hand, and to which these exposures had mainly contributed, the colonists perpetrated the outrages of 1832, but

"Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat:"

and never was this maxim more fully verified: never did "He who sitteth in the heavens" more signally cause the "wrath of man to praise Him." The very means by which these infatuated men hoped to secure the perpetuity of their system proved the cause of its destruction. This was the turning point of that mighty struggle, the issue of which had so long been doubtful. No sooner did it become a question whether light or darkness was to prevail—whether God or Satan should be supreme—no sooner was it clearly seen that the cause of negro emancipation was the cause of Christian

missions—than sympathies were awakened and energies called forth, before which even *slavery itself* fell prostrate, reluctantly compelled to acknowledge the omnipotence of Him who, at no distant period, and in every land, shall cast away its cords, and break its bands asunder.

But for the destruction of the houses of God, and the attempts made upon the lives and liberty of the ministers of Christ, slavery, unless it had excited the negroes to massacre the whole of the white population, would in all probability have continued to the present hour; although it must have yielded ultimately to the light and influence of missionary effort.

Thus it may be said that the moment the missionaries arrived on the shores where slavery and its effects existed, did that process commence which infallibly led to its utter extinction, and is now tending to the moral and social regeneration of the country.

Of their influence in this respect, the pro-slavery party were themselves well aware. "Education and religion," said a slave-holder to the author, "will make the negroes better men, but they will not make them better slaves."

"It is most unfortunate," says one of the government papers of the day, the great organ and advocate of slave-holders, "for the cause of the planters that they did not speak out in time. That they did not say, as they *ought* to have said, to the first advocates of missions and education, 'We will not tolerate your plans till you prove to us they are safe and necessary; we will not suffer you to enlighten our slaves,

who are by law our property, till you can demonstrate that, when they are made religious and knowing, they will still continue to be our slaves.'

"In what a perplexing predicament do the colonial proprietors now stand! Can the march of events be possibly arrested? Shall they be allowed to shut up the chapels, and banish the preachers and schoolmasters, and keep the slaves in ignorance? This would, indeed, be an effectual remedy. But there is no hope of its being applied. The obvious conclusion is this—slavery must exist as it now is, or it will not exist at all. If we expect to create a community of reading, moral, church-going slaves, we are woefully mistaken." *

This shameful demolition of the sanctuaries of the Most High, and treatment of the missionaries, in the providence of God was made subservient to other important purposes. Missionary societies became better known to the higher classes of the community, and more appreciated by its apathetic friends. The stream of Christian liberality flowed through a thousand new and previously unproductive channels—the societies more especially interested in it were animated with more wisdom in council, more energy in action, and more fervour in prayer—the sympathies of the whole Christian world were aroused—chapels were erected double the size of those that had been demolished—the means of usefulness were greatly multiplied and increased, and thousands were added to the church.

It was chiefly by the strenuous and persevering

* Quoted in the 'Martyr of Erromanga,' p. 19.

efforts of the missionaries also that the *temporal* condition of the people was improved.

Since the period of emancipation, repeated efforts were made to lessen the value of the boon, by oppressing the peasantry in their wages, and by the enactment of equivocal and oppressive laws. These attempts having been rendered abortive by the zeal and vigilance of the missionaries, contributed in no small degree to strengthen and consolidate that hold on their affections which they previously possessed.

It was to defeat the exactions of avarice, which hoped to accomplish its object by extorting labour at an unremunerating price, that the missionaries projected and carried into effect the *new village system*. This system, by creating a feeling of mutual dependance, encouraging industrious habits, and increasing the cultivation of the island, not only added to its general prosperity, but rendered labour more available for the properties near which such settlements were located—an advantage which many influential proprietors and managers have already acknowledged.

The land required for the formation of these village establishments had, in most cases, been first purchased by the missionaries, who also surveyed and laid out the allotments, superintended the construction of the roads and streets, directed the settlers in the building of their cottages, and cultivation of their grounds, supplied them with their deeds of conveyance, formed societies among them for the improvement of agricultural operations, gave them a relish for the comfort and conveniences of civilized life, and improved their

domestic economy. They endeavoured at the same time, by every means in their power, to convince these simple-minded people that their *own* prosperity, as well as that of the island at large, depended on their willingness to work for moderate wages, on the different properties around them.

In these labours, surrounded by difficulties, assailed by misrepresentation and reproach, weighed down by cares and responsibilities of no ordinary kind, the missionaries have stedfastly persevered, producing results which have already excited the astonishment and admiration of every conscientious and disinterested man; and which will at no distant period be duly appreciated and gratefully acknowledged, even by those who, under the influence of pride or prejudice, then most liberally stigmatized them as "enemies of the country."

In all their efforts for the improvement of the temporal condition of the people the missionaries endeavoured to evince the purity of their motives. In numberless instances they prevented the occurrence of insubordination. By doing justice to all parties they settled differences which might otherwise have been productive of the most serious consequences. At considerable personal inconvenience and risk of health, with the certainty of being requited by calumny and misrepresentation, they travelled from one estate to another, for no other purpose than to stimulate the peasantry to cultivate feelings of kindness and goodwill toward their employers, and to exemplify their Christian character by a steady and conscientious performance of their duties, whatever the circumstances in which they might be placed.

It is the most solemn conviction of the writer that they could not have acted with more singleness of aim, with more patriotic feeling, or with a greater regard to the *general* interests of the colony, had their own happiness, both for time and eternity, been suspended on the result.

Nor was the system of *organization* adopted by the Jamaica churches inefficient in promoting the success of missionary efforts; on the contrary, it was powerfully conducive to this important result. In the words of an eloquent writer, this system may be described as a "combination of the influence of the church acting with resolute energy on a given principle, by given means, to a given end."

The characteristics of this organization are union, division of labour, and classification, combined with the most vigilant pastoral direction and supervision. "Its tendency is to correct indifference, to encourage zeal, to nurture talent, to promote union, to insure increase." *

The churches being divided into classes, which are superintended by qualified leaders, each member well acquainted with his duty, and inspired with a holy ambition to excel his brother in performing it; every such society presents a well-disciplined moral phalanx, combined for the especial purpose of making aggressive movements on the kingdom of darkness around them—a centre, from which light emanated to an expanding circumference—a nucleus, from which other churches radiated. Like the celebrated Banian-tree of India, so happily described by our great epic poet:

* Burton.

"Spreading her arms
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between."

"It corresponded to the manner in which extensive tracts of territory were originally peopled by small settlements swelling into large communities. It was in some respects analogous in principle to the conduct of the apostles themselves, who, hastening from one country to another, planted the Gospel in a short time in many remote points, by which they at once multiplied the probabilities of its surviving, and afforded fuller scope for its being more extensively diffused."

By the operation of this system each individual was led to consider himself a necessary part of the great machine. Instead of regarding himself as a mere attendant, he felt that he had important duties to discharge; duties which, as they involved no small sacrifice of time, labour, and property, identified his own interest and happiness with the success of his exertions, while in a corresponding degree they stimulated his activity and devotedness.

On the tendency of this system of organization it is scarcely necessary to make an additional remark. This must be obvious; it increased the number of hearers and inquirers in proportion to the number and efficiency of the agents employed. As every one capable of exerting himself was included, a church and congregation, consisting of five thousand persons, possessed nearly the same number of Home Missionary agents who either directly or indirectly were habitually em-

ployed in promoting its piety and increasing its extent. Such a manifestation of active diligence and lively zeal on the part of the people naturally excited corresponding feelings in the breast of the minister; thus exerting an influence as universal as it was powerful and efficacious; altogether producing results surpassing the belief of those opposed to the system, or who judge of conversions by past occurrences. It was by this agency that new stations were usually originated. The services of the minister were seldom invited until a congregation had first been collected. He was required merely to preach and to take the oversight of the people. His active pioneers regarded it as their duty to secure the attendance of those to whom his attention was to be directed—a duty which was generally performed in a manner which more favoured Christians would do well to imitate.

The frequent social meetings connected with this system were important means of mutual encouragement and edification. They "exhorted one another daily while it was called to-day; edified one another; spoke to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; warned the unruly, comforted the feeble-minded; assembled themselves together, and provoked one another to love and to good works;" and thus "grew in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Nor was this system less useful and important in promoting that spirit of love and union which is in most cases so delightfully apparent. It is natural for a young convert to feel a strong attachment to the

instrument of his conversion. Especially is it thus with the negro, whose affections are so proverbially strong; and as all, in a greater or less degree, were rendered useful to each other, there was thus engendered amongst them a union of feeling and of effort which no other cause could possibly have produced. "Not in word only, but in deed and in truth" do they constitute one family; they are all "the children of God by faith." Bound closely to each other by mutual knowledge, intercourse, and love, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female, there is neither bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus." This organization also secured to every missionary by whom it has been adopted the most valuable assistance in the discharge of his pastoral duties. These agents instructed inquirers, visited the sick, sought after backsliders, superintended funerals, and reported cases of poverty and distress throughout their respective districts. Not only did they share the duties, but in some respects the responsibilities, of the pastor. To a certain extent each individual believer regarded himself as responsible for the interest and honour of religion in the community to which he belonged. In consequence of this he not only exerted himself to the utmost, but was elevated or depressed as Zion prospered or declined; in proportion as his fellow Christians adorned or dishonoured their profession. As an electric shock runs through every part of the chain, so everything that affected the welfare and prosperity of the church

affected in an equal degree every member of which that church was composed.

This system had a most direct and obvious tendency to promote and secure the purity of the churches. Each member being taught to regard himself as his "brother's keeper," not only did it induce greater personal watchfulness and circumspection, but many inconsistencies were thereby prevented, while every case of delinquency was speedily known and published to the church.

It would occupy too much space to enumerate all the advantages arising from the peculiar organization of the Jamaica churches; it may, however, be remarked, that the missionaries by whom it has been adopted are indebted to it, under God, not simply for the continuance, but for the commencement, of their success. In their incipient operations in the rural districts there was no other method by which a knowledge of divine truth could have been diffused to an equal extent. The missionary, surrounded by influential individuals, as proprietors or managers of estates, who were not merely hostile to his object but who endeavoured, by penal enactments, to prevent any access to the labourers on the different properties, found himself placed in a situation in which he could anticipate but little good from his direct and personal exertions. Hence, no sooner was one of the slaves brought to a knowledge of the truth, than he was employed to bear the glad tidings to others; and this as a matter of necessity, because no other medium so available ex-

isted. It was by this means that attention was at first excited, congregations collected, a spirit of hearing widely diffused, and multitudes savingly converted to God.

Many years ago it was estimated by a lay gentleman then resident in Jamaica, who urged it as an argument for missionaries to be sent thither, that there were from eight thousand to ten thousand persons on the island professedly belonging to the Baptist denomination alone. Nearly the whole of these were the fruit of lay agency, and afforded a proof of what might be anticipated by the employment of the same means under a more direct and skilful superintendence.

In every church this agency was superintended by the minister. He was "the centre of the system, planning, improving and directing all its movements," while in every instance its results have been such as to fill his heart with gratitude, and load his tongue with praises. Like the streamlet, which first betrays its silent course by the verdure that adorns its banks, and by the accession of tributary waters, receives an impulse which widens and deepens as it flows; so in every church thus organized did each unit of which it was composed become an element of influence, contributing to the increase, strength, and prosperity of the whole.

Like all human plans and institutions this system has doubtless been abused, though by no means to such an extent as has been represented.* The evils

* Among other evils resulting from the system, it has been stated that it tends to diminish esteem for the pastor, and to promote divisions

that may have been found connected with it have arisen not from the system itself, but from the *imperfect manner in which its tendencies were developed.* For many years, and especially during the days of slavery, such were the circumstances in which the missionaries were placed, and so hostile the influences by which they were surrounded, that it was utterly impossible for them to obtain such an efficient agency as they subsequently possessed, or to exercise over it such a direct and vigilant superintendence as they are enabled to do at the present time. If, therefore, the system has not yet accomplished all that it is able to effect, it is to these causes, and to these alone, that the deficiency is to be ascribed. And such is the writer's conviction of its intrinsic worth that he hesitates not to affirm, that if all the evils alleged to be connected with it were collected into a mass, they would prove but as the "small dust of the balance," when compared with the vast and ever-increasing amount of good which has resulted from its adoption.* Let it be but fully car-

in churches. The whole of the author's experience is not only against such a conclusion, but in every instance which has come under his observation the effect has been *directly the reverse.* In no part of the world are ministers more beloved or respected than in Jamaica, neither are there any churches which enjoy greater peace and harmony. In one church, comprising upwards of three thousand members, there has been but *one* instance in which a lay agent has taken any improper advantage of the confidence reposed in him, and in which there has been the slightest interruption to the most perfect concord, during a period of twenty years—a fact which (though by no means a singular one) will doubtless have its due weight with the reader.

* "I have often wished to see something like the Methodist class-meetings amongst us in India," said the late excellent Mr. Ward of Serampore, in his Farewell Letters. "No professors on earth need meet-

ried out with "all diligence" and in a spirit of faith and prayer, and there can be little doubt but that "God, even our own God, will bless us," and the period be hastened when "all the ends of the earth shall fear him."

Greatly is the whole Christian world indebted to the Rev. Dr. Campbell, who in his celebrated prize essay, entitled "Jethro," has so nobly defended the system of lay agency, and so ably illustrated the advantages which would result from its general adoption. It cannot but be highly gratifying to know that other missionary societies, as well as our own, have not only adopted the same principle, but have been favoured with the same success. After speaking of the success which has thus attended the labours of the Moravian and Wesleyan Societies, Dr. Campbell observes, "the London Missionary Society, though last, is not least, in this bright roll; they have much to record on the subject. The history of their achievements in the South Seas is one unbroken narrative of the successful efforts of laymen in uprooting idolatry and turning multitudes to God. The secretary of the Society (Rev. W. Ellis) declares, that 'the islanders have shown the great principle of the Gospel to be one of self-propagation, and the spirit it implants to be one of self-consecration. No sooner did they themselves understand the Gospel, and feel its power in their own hearts, than the prayer was offered up that God would graciously have compassion on the ignorant around;

ings like these so much as men recently brought from heathenism."—*Letters*, p. 244.

and efforts were made for the purpose of communicating to them that knowledge which they themselves possessed. God has eminently honoured the native Christians as the means of diffusing the Gospel far and wide amongst the nations of the Pacific.'

"That great missionary, John Williams, corroborates Ellis, and says, 'I do not know that the inhabitants of any island, with the exception of those of Tahiti, have been converted to Christianity by the instrumentality of English missionaries; the work has been done by native missionaries. Of course, they are conveyed by us, and are under our direction and superintendence; but they are the men that do the work; and, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that this agency, which God has put into our hands, should be carried on in the most judicious, the most effective, and the most extensive way in which it is possible to conduct it.' *

"These remarkable testimonies (adds the devoted author) to the uniform efficiency and stupendous effects of lay agency in the South Seas, constitute illustrations of our principle, which it is hardly possible to surpass." †

* Jethro, pp. 104, 105.

† "As soon as the chapel was completed at Rarotonga," says the eloquent biographer of Mr. Williams, "Messrs. Williams and Pitman distributed the baptised, and those who were candidates for baptism, into twenty-three classes, each containing from twenty-three to twenty-eight households. Two of the most serious and intelligent natives were appointed over each class, to secure a regular attendance upon the catechetical instructions of the missionaries."—*Life of Rev. J. Williams*, p. 248. Again, in p. 396, it is said, relating to the same island, "This incipient revival was the more interesting to Mr. Williams, because it could be

If the churches of Britain could but be persuaded to lay aside their prejudices and to adopt the same system, how many evils would be prevented; how would their numbers increase; and how much greater would be their moral influence and general prosperity! What Christian pastor feels not the force of Jethro's stirring exhortation: "O brethren! bestir yourselves! Turn your whole souls towards the preparation and arrangement of lay agency. Clothe yourselves with the united power of your people; unite them; classify them. Let them be as one well-compacted body, of which you are the soul. Men of God! animate, arouse, inspire the people! Put in motion the entire mass. Let every church become a spiritual camp, where every man is a soldier; and where all, even the children, know the use of arms! Then will the war of truth be prosecuted in the spirit of its origin; and our beloved land shall yet be filled with tokens of a Saviour's presence, and overspread with the triumphs of a Saviour's power!" *

It has been previously stated that the churches of Jamaica are distinguished by a spirit of frequent, fervent, and persevering prayer. Like the first Christians, "they continue with one accord in prayer and supplication," while their numerously attended meet-

traced to the instrumentality of the few disciples who had so recently professed their faith in Christ. When formed into a church, these converted natives had been distinctly told by their missionaries, that to sow as well as to reap, to labour as well as to enjoy, were among the primary and principal designs of their association. And these counsels were not lost."

* Jethro, p. 394.

ings for this purpose, the deep and intense feeling which pervades them, the impassioned earnestness with which they pour forth their desires unto God, sufficiently attest, not only the ardour, but the sincerity of their devotion.

And how much this spirit of prayer has contributed to the increase and prosperity of the churches is known only unto Him who has said, "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven."* If it be true that "he who has the ear of God has the heart of God;" that "prayer moves the hand that moves the world;" who can wonder that copious showers of blessings should descend upon a people who thus, in congregated thousands, bend before the throne of mercy, "praying with all prayer and supplication in the spirit," not only for themselves, but for the perishing multitudes around them? By prayer have the missionaries been defended in times of danger, sustained and cheered when "sorrow hath filled their hearts." By prayer have sinners been awakened, the desponding comforted, believers "edified and built up in their most holy faith," while around them the "word of the Lord has had free course, and been glorified." Let but this spirit of prayer continue, and we shall not fear for the continued prosperity of our churches. Let it subside, and from that sad moment "Ichabod" will be written upon the walls and portals of our sanctuaries.

* Matt. xviii. 19.

"Prayer, ardent, opens heaven, lets down a stream
Of glory on the consecrated hour
Of man, in audience with the Deity;
Who worships the great God, that moment joins
The first in heaven, and sets his foot on hell."

Whatever may have been the separate or combined influence of the causes hitherto enumerated in producing the glorious transformation described in the preceding pages, they would have been comparatively useless apart from the Gospel which "is the power of God unto salvation." The abolition of the slave-trade; the destruction of slavery itself; the establishment of schools; and the various efforts which have been made for the improvement of the temporal condition of the people, would have effected but little, had it not been for this more powerful instrumentality and this still more effective agency.

Of this we have an illustration in the case of Hayti. Though its inhabitants have long been free—though some schools have been established, and civilization has in some degree advanced—though the arts and sciences, the manners and customs of Europe have been introduced, yet but little improvement has taken place in their moral and social state. They remain almost as motionless, indeed, in this respect as if they floated on the surface of a stagnant pool—present nearly the same changeless aspect of intellectual and social condition as they did before they emancipated themselves from the thraldom of the French. Compared with the happy and prosperous circumstances of the Jamaica peasantry, the Haytians are still involved in ignorance, misery, and guilt—darkness covers this

part of the earth, and gross darkness the minds of its people.*

The history of missions proves most conclusively that the Gospel is the only instrument of moral and spiritual renovation:—that this, and this alone, is "mighty, through God, to the pulling down the strongholds" which the Prince of Darkness has erected. In Jamaica this Gospel has been preached freely, fully, and with great simplicity—to a considerable degree in the paraphrastic and metaphoric styles—the preacher dwelling chiefly on its first principles, its most prominent doctrines and duties, enforced by direct and powerful appeals to the heart and conscience.

It has also been preached faithfully. Having secured the confidence and affections of the people, the mis-

* "The poet Goldsmith," says Mr. Candler, "in describing the peasantry of Switzerland, has too correctly, and with much greater truth, described the condition of the people of Hayti:—

'Unknown to them, when sensual pleasures cloy,
To fill the languid pause with finer joy:
Unknown those powers that raise the soul to flame,
Catch every nerve, and vibrate through the frame.
Their level life is but a smouldering fire,
Unquench'd by want, unfann'd by strong desire;
Unfit for raptures; for, if raptures cheer
On some high festival of once a year,
In wild excess the vulgar breast takes fire,
Till, buried in debauch, the bliss expire.
But not their joys alone thus coarsely flow;
Their morals, like their pleasures, are but low;
For, as refinement stops, from sire to son,
Unalter'd, unimproved, the manners run;
And love and friendship's finely-pointed dart
Falls blunted from each indurated heart.'"

THE TRAVELLER.

sionary felt that he could lay open their defects, expose their sins, and exhort them to consistency, without the slightest apprehension of giving offence or incurring the charge of personality. On the contrary, he found that he was beloved and honoured in proportion to his fidelity, not only in preaching, but in guarding the purity and preserving the discipline of the church. The observation was frequently made, "Him is good minister; him don't no child; him tell we plain; him know neger heart well. If we no go right, it we own fault; minister clean from we blood."

The Gospel was preached practically, being uniformly made to bear upon the importance of bringing forth the "fruits of holiness which are to the praise and glory of God." While the missionary endeavoured to "give to all a portion of meat in due season," his grand aim was the increase of converts, and in this he always calculated with confidence upon the sympathies of his people, who estimated the value of a sermon by its awakening tendency, and the talents of a preacher by his success in storming the citadel of the passions. Having themselves been made partakers of the grace of God, their chief anxiety was that their neighbours and friends might become participants of the blessings which they enjoyed. It was frequently said, and the language describes the general feeling, "Minister show we de right way, and tell we where we can get comfort. Now we want minister to keep on preach, to bring in more sinner. If minister give we little comfort sometime, dat will do; we will try and comfort weself."

Accompanied by the promised influence of the Holy Spirit, this "manifestation of the truth" has been productive not only of its own legitimate effects in the awakening and conversion of sinners, but, by increasing the efficiency of other instrumentality, it has in the highest sense caused "the wilderness and the solitary place to be made glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose." Humbly and devoutly would the writer recognise divine influence as absolutely essential to all moral and spiritual renovation. "Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." Without this omnipotent agency the labours of the missionaries would have fallen to the ground. What else could have produced such mighty changes as have been detailed? What inferior power could have softened what was obdurate as the rock, and fixed that which was inconstant as the wind? What else could have influenced the poor African slave, accustomed from his youth to superstition and idolatry, to rioting and mirth, to licentious indulgence and secret abominations, to cast off the works of darkness —to surrender his beloved lusts—to "live soberly, righteously, and godly," "counting all things but loss that he might win Christ, and be found in him?" What, but the enlightening, softening, converting Almighty operation of the Spirit of God? It is this which has excited attention—aroused the dormant faculties—subdued and overcome the "bondage of corruption," and caused those hearts which were once

barren of all good, and prolific only of evil, to bring forth in rich abundance the fruits of holiness, happiness, and heaven. "Every spot on the surface of the globe that is enlightened—every waste place that is reclaimed—every idol that is renounced—every heart that is renewed—every ingredient that is shed into the cup of human enjoyment—is a new and striking evidence of the power and operation of the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts"—is wholly the triumph of Christianity. "Not unto us, O Lord; not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake."

CHAPTER XVIII.

INCREASED CLAIM OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, ESPECIALLY ON THE SYMPATHIES AND BENEVOLENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD.

Magnitude of the Objects—Past Success—Condition of Africa, St. Domingo, and other neighbouring Islands; South America—Increased Facilities which these Fields of Labour afford—Sympathies manifested by the Churches in Jamaica—Demand for these Objects on the Christian Public—Sinfulness of Neutrality in such a Cause—Motives—Way in which this Cause is to be especially promoted.

THERE is nothing in the whole compass of human enterprise that can for a moment be compared in magnitude with Christian missions. Smiling on every design which contemplates in any way the improvement of the human race, it is their distinguishing glory that their energies are directed primarily to the promotion of the dearest interests of men; that while they do not overlook the fleeting circumstances of time, they have emphatically to do with the infinitely more weighty considerations of eternity. Stretching far beyond the narrower limits within which religious benevolence has been wont to confine itself, these noble institutions embrace all nations, aim, with a God-like generosity, to remove every badge of degradation and disgrace from a prostrate and enslaved world, and to raise the vast and ever multiplying family of man to holiness, happiness, and God. What is there in the

whole range of human ambition that does not vanish before the majesty of such a design? The dazzling splendours of royalty, the flattering conquests of the hero, or even the beautiful researches of the philosopher, sink into utter insignificance before it, while philanthropy itself is constrained to acknowledge the supremacy of an enterprise which seizes with so strong a grasp both upon the present interests and future destinies of men.

A purpose so completely in unison with the perfections of Jehovah, and in such vital sympathy with the spirit of his word, especially with the Gospel of his grace, could but commend itself to the approval, and attract the blessing, of the skies. The genius of Christian missions is divine in its origin, and has therefore enjoyed the fostering care of its Father who is in heaven. The degree of success, moreover, which it has pleased the Great Head of the Church to vouchsafe to his servants has exceeded the bounds of rational expectation. A thoughtful survey of the vastness of the work, and of the prodigious difficulties with which it was crowded, could not fail to moderate the anticipations of every reflecting breast. Whatever might have been the dreams of some sanguine and superficial minds, the great body of the Christian church must have entertained subdued hopes, and sometimes have felt the predominance of overshadowing fears. It was in this spirit, as has been before intimated, some of the more distinguished labourers in this mighty design entered on their work. After a suitable trial of the faith and patience of His people, the Lord of the harvest

appeared, and condescended to bless their efforts in so signal a manner as to awaken mingled astonishment and joy. In a comparatively short period, in the interesting island of Jamaica, one corner of the great missionary field, 200,000 souls who were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death were savingly converted to God, and emerged into the radiance of the Sun of Righteousness. Let it be borne in mind that this blessed army have not merely been brought into the enjoyment of the outward privileges of the Christian religion, but have, in the judgment of charity, been "renewed in the spirit of their minds, and become the genuine disciples of Him, after whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named." "Who are these that fly as a cloud and as doves to their windows?" Nor is the blessing of God confined to one scene of missionary exertion; it attends his servants wherever they go. In other parts of the western archipelago the seed of the kingdom is abundantly springing up; the icy regions of the north are gladdened by the genial influence of "the truth;" the islands of the southern sea have received His law; the mighty superstitions of India are tottering before the presence of the cross, while in Burmah, and even in China, with its teeming millions, the death-like silence which has reigned for ages is disturbed by the footsteps of Him who, as he advances, creates all things new; the enemy has already been driven from some of those strong-holds which once were deemed impregnable, and many a field of arduous conflict is now strewed with the weapons of opposition and the

emblems of success. Had the attempts of faithful men to invade the territory of the Prince of Darkness, and to spoil him of his prey, been apparently useless, it would be, nevertheless, an indication of cowardice, and dereliction of duty, to retire from the conflict; but with what cheerful energy and quenchless devotion does it become the Christian church to address itself to a work which God has condescended so signally to own and bless!

Encouraging as are the positive results which have already followed from Christian missions, little comparatively has been effected. It becomes us to bear steadily in mind that the sublime work is only begun; that but partial inroads have been made on any part of the enemy's dominions, while there remains a vast amount of territory hitherto unvisited and undisturbed. Surely, notwithstanding every indication of success, it must be felt that we have but just entered on the field, while eight hundred millions of our fellow-men remain involved in superstition, misery, and guilt, thousands of whom are daily passing the boundaries of time, with no eye to pity and no hand to save.

The map of the world spread out beneath the eye of the Christian philanthropist presents an appalling region of moral desolation. What unrelenting tyranny of error! What horrid and disgusting scenes of imposture! Every devout heart must thrill with agonizing emotions, and every enlightened imagination recoil, overshadowed with gloom, from a scene throughout which death reigns with such unlimited sway. China is en-

thralled and bowed down by a grovelling and debasing superstition. Persia, Arabia, and Asiatic Turkey groan beneath the dominion of the false prophet. The teeming myriads of Hindostan are still wedded to loathsome idols. Africa lies involved in a darkness as profound as that which veiled Egypt during the prolonged and fearful night, when no man knew his brother. "Instruments of cruelty are in her habitations;" her dismal altars are at this moment streaming with human blood, and groaning beneath the weight of murdered victims, while her strength is consumed by intestine wars and merciless oppression. "Awake, awake, put on thy strength, oh Zion!"

Throughout these mighty portions of the globe, this darkness and wretchedness prevail, relieved only by a few scattered rays which have been kindled by missionary zeal. Nor in crossing the broad expanse of waters to the islands of the west do we meet with any material improvement in the scene. Here and there, it is true, the gloom is irradiated by the light of Christian truth, but it is only as the morning-star to the benighted traveller, when he first beholds it emerging from the thick shades that surround it, or but as the faint glimmering of the glow-worm under the black canopy of night; whilst throughout the confederated states of the Mexican Union—throughout, indeed, the whole extent of South America, and no inconsiderable portion of the north of the new hemisphere, successive generations of rational beings are perishing for lack of the bread and the water of life.

"They read no promise that inspires belief,
They seek no God that pities their complaints,
They find no balm that gives the heart relief,
They know no fountain when the spirit faints.
Oh! could I picture out the full effect
Of that soul-withering power, Idolatry,
I 'd write a page which whoso dared to read,
His eye, instead of tears, in crimson drops should bleed."

And cannot this wretchedness be expelled, and this waste howling wilderness be revived and beautified? Are there no means by which St. Domingo and other islands of the western world, still under the influence of the Prince of Darkness, can be aroused from their lethargy of sin? Are there no means by which they, with the out-stretched continent of South America, can be raised in the scale of nations, and brought into fellowship with the Father of their spirits? Are there no means of healing the distracted heart of Africa; of restoring her to liberty and light, to holiness and happiness?—Yes! By the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God" we can regenerate the world.

The honour of Christ, which has been so essentially promoted by the aggressive efforts of his servants, is vitally identified with the increase of his subjects. It is scarcely possible to conceive of a heavier calamity than the annihilation of Christian missions. By such a catastrophe the dawning hopes of an expiring world would vanish, the strength of the church of God would decay, and the glory of the great Redeemer would suffer an eclipse. Unbelievers, emboldened in their rebellion, would reiterate the cry, "Where is the promise of his coming?" and the god of this world would reascend his tottering throne. The same disastrous re-

sults would flow in their measure from any relaxation of effort. The cause admits of no inglorious repose. The armies of the "Lord of Hosts" are committed to a grand struggle with principalities and powers, with spiritual wickedness in high places, with the rulers of the darkness of this world; nor can they halt without involving themselves in everlasting disgrace.

The question, as to the reasonableness and probable results of the bold attack, which arose before they entered on the conflict, has been set at rest. It is no longer dubious whether the warfare shall commend itself to the divine approbation, and shall be carried on under the shield of omnipotent protection. The kingdom has already been partially given to the saints of the Most High. "He that is feeble has become as David; and the house of David, as God and the angel of the Lord before them." The great Captain of salvation has tasted the earnest of his triumphs, and waits with divine solicitude for their completion. A fearful responsibility rests upon his disciples, and magnificent achievements wait upon their fortitude and zeal. The example of their devoted ancestors is before them. His angels, whom he "maketh as spirits, and his ministers as flames of fire," anxiously attend them; and nothing remains but that they push their conquests on every side, put to rout the armies of the alien, and, animated with love to Christ and care for the souls of men, in the name of the Lord in every land lift up their banners.

In this glorious enterprise there is everything to encourage our hope and to stimulate our zeal. In-

creased facilities present themselves on every hand, and new spheres of labour are opening before the messengers of the Gospel of peace. Aware of their degradation, and perceiving the influence of Christianity as taught by the missionaries in Jamaica and other British islands around them, the inhabitants of Hayti have invited the servants of Christ to their shores, promising the utmost protection to their persons and all possible facilities for their work. They are beginning to look upon missionary stations and schools as necessary to enable their beautiful island to occupy its proper place among the nations of the earth. The messengers of religion would meet with more respect and countenance from the authorities resident there than from those in most other parts of the world. Deeply interested in the struggles of the philanthropists of England for the freedom of their brethren, they would vie with each other in expressions of kindness towards any missionaries who might visit their shores, since they are well aware that the invaluable boon of liberty, so lately conferred on thousands of their coloured brethren, is mainly to be ascribed to their exertions. Even here the ground has already been broken.* (The Wesleyan Society has long had some

* It is but due on the part of the writer to state that during a visit at Cape Haytien, and its neighbourhood, in January, 1842, nothing could exceed the kindness with which he was treated by the highest authorities and most respectable merchants of that soon after devoted city, to whom he was introduced. On authority of those individuals, chiefly, with whom he had considerable intercourse, he has made the above statements. As another result of the author's inquiries, he found that a Baptist church already existed at Port-au-Prince, and in answer to a communication inquiring into their condition and circumstances, he received

invaluable agents in Hayti, men whose qualifications for the trying post they have had to occupy have never been surpassed.)

Among other favourable occurrences the ports of Jamaica have been recently thrown open to Haytian commerce—an act of justice that has inspired with grateful sentiments some of the most influential citizens of the republic. "England has given another proof of her generous sympathy with Hayti, which is to us a matter of sincere rejoicing. It will tend to extend our commerce, consolidate our prosperity, refine our manners, establish our political education,

the following letter from some of its members on behalf of the whole:—

"*Port-au-Prince, May* 15, 1842.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

"Your truly interesting and friendly letter came safe to hand, which afforded us satisfaction to learn that our brethren from afar had such sympathy with us as to offer us assistance after knowing our situation. We are without a pastor, and have been so for some time. . . . . At present there is not more than a dozen of us that meet together, and that not regularly, for at present we have no house in particular to hold our meetings in. About five years ago we had a missionary from the United States, at which time we were in a very prosperous state, but he was called home. After this we sent a pious, worthy man from our own body to the United States, and the board of foreign missions ordained him. He returned and commenced his ministry, and was very prosperous, but it pleased the Lord to take him also to himself, and we are now like sheep without a shepherd. We submit these few lines for your consideration,—*i. e.*, to the wisdom of your body,—and beg you to dictate and give us such friendly advice as might be advantageous. What few there are of us are very poor. If in your wisdom you send a person to instruct us you will not be deceived respecting our situation. We add nothing more, but remain your brethren in the Lord,

(Signed) ISAAC HILL,
WILLIAM PEYER,
SAMUEL JACKSON."

bring us the greater blessings of Christianity; and lastly, to honour and happiness." *

Whilst Providence is yet more fully preparing the way before us in the islands of the West, vast continents are beckoning us to their coasts. Already "Ethiopia stretches out her hands unto God." In many of her towns and villages, and islands, the sun of Christianity has risen, while the spectral train of idolatry and superstition are vanishing before its rays. Useful knowledge, the blessings of civilization, and the arts of agriculture, follow in the train of the missionary wherever he goes; and as he advances, "the wilderness rejoices, and the desert blossoms as the rose."

The honoured agents of the London, the Wesleyan, the Church, and the American missionary societies have already reaped a rich and glorious harvest; and the Baptist denomination has at length heard the cry of her perishing millions, and has gone up "to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

Under its auspices an army of Africa's own children, the first fruits of missionary zeal in Jamaica, will, it is fondly hoped, penetrate to the very heart of their father-land, and plant the standard of the cross on its hoary mountains, and sow the seed of the Gospel along its sterile valleys. The galling chain of slavery was no sooner smitten from the exiled negroes in the west, than their hearts yearned over their neglected brethren at home; and multitudes of them, in the spirit of true devotion, are ready, like the Is-

* Extract from a speech delivered at a banquet at Jeremie, published in the Port-au-Prince 'Manifeste,' November, 1842.

raelites, to return from the land of their captivity, taking the ark of God with them.* Africa now begins to absorb the sympathies of the whole civilized world. The Anti-slavery Societies of England and America, the African Civilization Society, the African Institute of France, are all intent on her elevation. So with the whole Christian church. Everything seems to say that the time to favour Africa is come; that the day of her redemption draweth nigh. She "stands ready to-morrow to receive a hundred thousand missionaries."

Here and there on the South American continent also the light of divine truth has been kindled. Wherever we turn, the piercing cry is heard, "the harvest is great, but the labourers are few." Lovers of social order, friends of education and the rights of man, Christians of every name, ministers of the Gospel of Christ, awake, and further the transfer of missionaries to these benighted lands, but especially to injured Africa. No longer suffer her to weep for her children. Soon let it be said, "Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears; for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. And there is hope in their end, saith the Lord, that their children shall come again into their own border."

The obligations of true Christians to diffuse the Gospel of Christ through the nations of the earth, rise

* The Rev. John Clarke, of the Baptist Missionary Society, to whom and his colleague, Dr. Prince, a wide and effectual door has been opened in Western Africa, is now on his way to Jamaica, with the design of conveying a considerable number of pious and devoted black and coloured men as missionaries to that continent.

with peculiar propriety out of the system of truth they espouse. The direct commission of the great Redeemer, as well as the more general precepts of His word, fall with all the weight of divine authority on the conscience and the heart, and bind his disciples with the force of law to disseminate the seed of "the kingdom." But in addition to these, and in vital sympathy with them, there is the legitimate influence of the doctrines they receive—a gentle constraining power, mightier than law, which no devout heart can resist. There is not a truth connected with the great evangelical scheme, and received "in the love of it" into an "humble and contrite heart," which does not feed in its measure the springs of benevolence and love; which does not bring into the breast which receives it the element of a new and a better life, and awaken, by its silent ministrations, the holier sympathies and aims. But when the whole range of truths which compose the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God" exert their combined influence on the mind, they "create all things new." Beneath their genial effects the thoughts take an ampler range, the affections kindle with a purer and a diviner flame, and motives are supplied by considerations of the mightiest and tenderest import. The whole man is raised, his moral attitude is changed, his mind beats in unison with the divine intelligence itself, and his heart, like that of his great Master, breathes its solicitudes towards a dying world. The missionary spirit is not a transient fire, kindled amidst heated passion, or an eccentric light escaped from the realms

of a bewildered imagination, but the quiet and rational growth of enlightened Christianity; the fair and inevitable result of the cordial belief of the doctrines of the cross of Christ; the beautiful offspring of a power seated amidst the faculties of the soul, silently impelling them to a large and comprehensive morality, and spreading through them a glow of philanthropy that pants to relieve the strongest exigencies of men. "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."

Whether the devout believer in revealed religion contemplate its more awful disclosures, or his thoughts turn to its brighter discoveries, he derives inducements on every hand for unabating efforts to extend its blessings through the world. It is impossible for him to survey the nations wrapt in ignorance, bound in the fetters of degrading superstitions, and "led captive by the devil at his will," without being moved with compassion towards them. Believing them to be under the curse, and exposed to the anger of God, looking on them as they advance in gloomy succession, from generation to generation, to the grave, without knowledge, without holiness, without hope, "his bowels yearn over them in the Lord." If, turning from these sombre reflections on the more dreadful features of their present position, and future prospects, he advert to more inspiring themes, his sense of obligation towards them acquires yet greater strength. The beneficence of the great Jehovah, his unbounded grace in

the gift of his Son, the condescending and mysterious advent of the Saviour, his awful agony and victorious death, the efficacy of his sacrifice, and the triumph of his power, strangely deepen the impression. An experimental sense of the incomparable preciousness of evangelical truth, an unpresuming hope of interest in its blessings mingled with holy gratitude and astonishment that he should possess such treasures, enjoy such privileges and be animated by such hopes, give energy to his impulses and intenseness to his desires. "Have respect," he cries, "to thy covenant, for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." A right state of mind with relation to the claims of heathen lands, like every other virtue, brings a corresponding reward. From the rise of the spirit of missions is to be dated the commencement of an improved condition in the churches at home. It awakened the slumbering genius of enterprise in Zion; it cast the thoughts and feelings of pious persons into a new and finer mould, gave amplitude to their ideas, and materially aided in relaxing the rigidity and exclusiveness of their theology. It drew believers into closer union, and fed the hallowed fires of devotion, which are ever burning on the altars of the church. The energy which has gone forth from the community of the faithful, to the help of those who were ready to perish, so far from being followed by exhaustion, has been the occasion of renewed strength. As when some stately oak, rising in majesty above all around it, spreads its ample branches freely beneath the heavens, and, as it expands, strikes its vast roots more

deeply into the friendly soil, so the vigour of the church has increased since she sought a wider range for her powers. No private Christian, nor any society of godly men, can cherish the higher virtues which are included in enlightened missionary zeal, without realizing the fulfilment of the promise that "he who waters others shall be watered also himself."

Nor need the Christian patriot be indifferent to the great advantages of a more general kind, both civil and moral, which accrue from the widening march of Christian missions. The honour of his country is augmented, its progressive prosperity in some degree guaranteed, and the presence of the God of nations vouchsafed. As it is with individuals, so with communities, when their ways "please the Lord he maketh their enemies to be at peace with them."

But that which invests this glorious cause with its highest interest, in the estimation of devout men, is its inseparable connexion with the honour of the Son of God. Since the attention of the church has been directed to the conversion of the nations of the world a revenue of glory has redounded to him unprecedented in the history of his reign. The sublimity of the conception, entertained by his obscure and unpretending disciples, does honour to a system which repudiates in its extension all civil authority, and mere secular aid; which, unlike every system of imposture, whether political or religious, that has been ambitious of dominion, casts aside the warrior's sword, and the oppressor's rod, and boasts of no armour but that of meekness, gentleness, and truth. That this mighty

thought should draw all its nourishment, and acquire all its fitness from the doctrines which he taught, and from the promises which he made: that all the theories of mere reason, or of a boasted philosophy, should be impotent to the vast undertaking, and altogether unprepared to sympathize with it: that no other set of truths except those he disclosed should inspire the generous moral, or possess the requisite might, must surely redound to his praise! That with those who entertain the loftiest conceptions of his person, and the largest ideas of the scope of his mission, should originate the grandest moral scheme that has ever filled the minds of men: that in proportion as there is a descent from this elevated estimate, the stirring impulse, and the comprehensive intention involved in the idea of missions is weakened and surrendered, cannot but be to his glory! That incidental benefits, better than any direct ones conferred through other mediums, should attend those regions of the earth to which his religion is carried and taught in simplicity and truth: that a spirit of inquiry, an extending range of moral vision, the decay of degrading customs and of bewildering superstitions, freedom, the birthright of man, with social and domestic improvement and peace, should bless the nations among whom his name is proclaimed, augments his extending fame! That, as his servants have advanced upon the territories of the Prince of Darkness, in whatever quarter of the globe, ignorance and vice and malice and rage have fled before them, and the graces of the Spirit have sprung up in their path; that tens of thousands, as he has been lifted

up before them, have cried, "other Lords have had dominion over us, but by thee only will we make mention of thy name:" that evidence of the truth of his religion, and the spiritual glory of his kingdom, should accumulate in such masses along the line of Christian missions: that unbelief grows pale, and conviction begins to light up the universal mind: that death and the invisible world should have recorded in all but innumerable instances on their mysterious page, from among all climes, the splendid triumphs of his cross adds imperishable lustre to his crown! "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand."

In concert with the more disinterested motives which should impel professing Christians forward in this great cause, they may well be influenced by the recollection of the most limited season within which it is allowed them to labour, and the speedy approach of the final audit, as well as the instituted connexion between their present devotedness and their future reward, "He that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting." Who is not ambitious of the plaudit of the descending judge? Who would not aspire to the highest honours of the eternal world? "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

The means by which the desire of the church is to be accomplished have been instituted by the Saviour himself; nor will he permit his people to neglect them

with impunity, or to substitute others in their stead. Simple as they are, they are eminently suited to the attainment of their end, and are incapable of improvement by the complicated contrivances of men. They are as ancient as that system of truth they are appointed to serve, and will admit of no extraneous adjuncts or novel devices. The progress of religion in the world, like the growth of piety in the heart, can be served only by spiritual means, by a strict adherence to the laws of that "kingdom which is not of this world." The injunctions of legislators, and the mandates of thrones, may do much to retard, but can effect little to advance, its triumphs. The subtilties of human policy have in them nothing in common with the "wisdom that cometh from above, which is at first pure, then peaceable, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits." The utter weakness of human nature, and the feebleness of its resources, are never more conspicuous than when, passing beyond their province, the potentates of the earth attempt to direct and regulate the higher interests of mankind. They have nothing to do but to unite with the obscurest citizen in subjecting themselves to the divine authority of Him who is no respecter of persons. Nor can any benefit accrue to this great cause from rash innovations, or the plausible expedients of its sincere but too sanguine friends. It is vain to carry the calculations of commerce and the maxims of the world into the Church of God. The effect they produce, however apparently good, is transient and deceptive; they may agitate the surface, but they weaken the

centre; may induce a delusive flush of vigour and health, like the influence of powerful stimulants on the human frame, but they induce languor at the heart.

In the ordination of the means by which to carry forward the interests of truth in the earth, as in the development of truth itself, "Jehovah has abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence."

It is impossible to attach too much importance in the order of means, to the promulgation of the Gospel in its primitive simplicity and apostolic glory free from all the admixtures of a refined philosophy and useless traditions. The proclamation of the love of God in the unspeakable gift of his beloved Son, the free invitations of his grace and his claims to the obedience of faith, have been instrumental in the hands of Christian missionaries, of all denominations, in winning the hearts of the heathen to his authority; and a conscientious adherence to the same prescribed course will secure for them his increased approbation and sanction. Let but this divine mission continue to be ardently discharged by men of God, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and nothing can withstand it; all opposition will fall before it, as Dagon before the Ark. This is the grand secret by which the world is to be reclaimed, and the vast empire of darkness to be overthrown.

Nor must we leave out of view the necessity of an entire dependence on the agency of the Spirit of God, an habitual reference to those promised influences without which Paul may plant and Apollos water in vain. In conjunction with these stands the wonder-

ful ordinance of prayer, the appointed medium of direct intercourse with heaven, that holy exercise on which it has pleased the blessed God to suspend his communications to men. Let but the devout supplications of the united church ascend as incense to the great Father of Spirits through the intercession of his Son, and there need be no limits to the expectations of his servants. "Prove Me herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of Heaven, and pour you out a blessing that there shall not be room enough to receive it."* Not a petition should be concluded in the closet, at the domestic altar, at the social meeting, or in the public worship of Jehovah, without the supplication "Thy kingdom come."

It is an admirable law in the constitution of things that the lesser virtues wait upon the greater. Consequent on the cultivation of these momentous means is the inferior, but not less requisite, practice of enlarged benevolence. The devotion of the heart to any cause carries in it a disposition to make any sacrifice to advance it. To pretend to be deeply concerned for the salvation of men, and yet to be backward to give money to promote it, is to insult reason, and therefore to disgrace religion. The professor, who descants with affected fervour on the importance of missionary enterprise, but who is prolific with excuses when called on to support it, may find palliatives in the selfish maxims of a frigid economy, but he does violence to moral order, and will not escape the rebuke of his Judge. Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first fruits of all thine increase, is equally

* Malachi iii. 10.

the command of God as to preach the Gospel to every creature, or to pray earnestly for its success. To unite them is reasonable, natural, and religious; but to pretend to the one while neglecting the other is hypocrisy—a solemn mockery—a contradiction in language and conduct. No Christian is at liberty to consider himself an independent proprietor of his wealth any more than of his talents or of his time. He is responsible, by the very law of his profession, for its proper appropriation, while he is bound by ties of holiest gratitude to place it at the disposal of him who gave his life a ransom for many. Discountenancing the extravagant doctrines of those who advocate the surrender of all the possessions, and the abandonment of the comforts, of life, who would have men pour the fortunes with which Providence may have endowed them indiscriminately into the exchequer of the church, as subversive of propriety and as derogatory to true religion, it becomes needful to guard on the other hand against a spirit of parsimony and worldly policy—to hold up to marked disapprobation those sophistical subterfuges beneath which the professed followers of Christ too frequently conceal that covetousness which is idolatry. Let the love of God be shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto them—let but the spirit of prayer and the grace of supplication rest upon them, and generous sentiments will fill their breasts, while sound discretion will regulate their hands. There is but little danger of the liberality of men who are under the direction of right principles exceeding the bounds of Christian prudence; or, if such cases should occasionally occur, He who searcheth

the hearts will rather approve the errors of benevolence than the indifference that never stirs, the caution which always hesitates, or the supineness that ever sleeps. Hitherto the Christian church in its collective capacity has cheerfully responded to the appeals of humanity and piety, and its generosity has borne a gratifying proportion to its ever-increasing claims. It is to the honour of the churches of Christ in Great Britain that such vast amounts have been annually collected in behalf of foreign missions. Still, if the work is to be conducted on a scale at all commensurate with the territory to be reclaimed, the standard of liberality must be raised, and increased contributions poured in. A consciousness of individual responsibility must fall upon the members of the churches; no one must claim exemption, but each must present his offering—the accumulating capitalist, with the toiling mechanic; the several branches as well as the venerated heads of households; the indigent as well as the affluent. As an instance of what may be effected by a combination of effort, it is only requisite to turn to the Baptist and other churches in Jamaica. The people composing them are generally poor, and each gives but little, but, each contributing something, and doing so continually, far more is raised for benevolent objects, in proportion to their strength, than by Christian communities, however distinguished, in any other part of the world.

As the divine Redeemer advances in his glorious career, to take the heathen as his inheritance, in answer to the ascending prayers of his church, the motive for

extended liberality is strengthened, and the munificence of his people will, it is confidently hoped, rise with the number and urgency of his claims.

As a spirit of enlightened commiseration for the heathen shall mingle itself yet more deeply with the piety of British Christians, instances of personal dedication to the work of missions will increase. No reflecting person can fail to trace the finger of God in the noiseless manner in which the great work has hitherto been carried on. Instead of men leaving their native shores in large bodies, and so attracting the attention of society and on alighting in distant lands awakening the suspicion of strangers, the messengers of mercy have gone forth singly and at intervals, almost unperceived, while by their seeming weakness they have excited the pity and contempt rather than roused the opposition, of foes. By this arrangement, the result of absolute necessity more than of design on the part of the churches of the Redeemer, but ordered in infinite wisdom by the blessed God, Christian doctrine, so inimical to the tastes and adverse to the established superstitions of the nations, has been silently insinuated into most unlikely regions and as leaven, promises to leaven the whole lump. By residing among cruel savages and effeminate idolaters till, by their blameless lives and disinterested efforts, they have conciliated their respect, by introducing the useful arts of civilized society, or imperceptibly infusing the spirit of Christian truth into the prevalent literature, the solitary teacher, or the little unsuspected band, "has prepared the way of the Lord, and cast

up in the desert a high way for our God." Plans may now be entertained and executed which, if attempted in the earlier stages of the enterprise, would have been frustrated by unfriendly authorities, and have postponed the dawn of that day, the bright morning of which now opens so enchantingly all around. "My thoughts are not as your thoughts; nor my ways as your ways, saith the Lord." But the time has now arrived for a bolder and more resolute assault. The apprehensions of the rulers of the earth are allayed. the base and interested nature of the opposition of corrupted priesthoods is suspected by their votaries. The peaceable and useful influence of missions on civil and social life is acknowledged. A spirit of inquiry has been awakened, and millions upon millions are "waiting for his law." The appalling exigencies of the heathen have been rendered most affectingly conspicuous, by the startling inadequacy of all attempts which have been made to meet them. Lamps have been lighted here and there, which serve to reveal the surrounding gloom. In more than one eastern city there is but a single missionary to a hundred thousand people, and in some instances no one like-minded within a distance of a hundred miles; while in other parts, where labourers are more numerous, they are altogether unequal to the duties laid upon them by their very successes. "Verily the fields are white unto the harvest." The ripening corn invites the sickle; it bends beneath its weight; it waves before the breeze. The sky is lowering, the wind moaning, the air chilling—the season will soon be past, and the

opportunity ended. But where a host of hands should seize the spoil, a single reaper only appears here and there, breast high, mocked by the seeming hopelessness of his work, and dispirited by the loneliness of his position.

"Where are the youthful Christians prepared to occupy the high places of the field? Where the fathers ready to place them on this altar? the mothers ready to give them up? They can surrender them to the contagion of idolatry, of vice, of traffic, and of war. Men of science cross the seas to mark the transit of a planet, and to record the appearance of the stars; and shall sloth enervate the Christian's heart, or pusillanimity paralyse his arm? A dying world anxiously waits for a response to the appeal, 'whom shall we send, and who will go for us?*'" Churches of the living God! Families of the faithful! Seminaries of religion and learning! Ministers of the cross of Christ! your increased sympathy and aid are affectionately, but earnestly implored. †

The signs of the times, as they unfold themselves around us, strengthen the obligations and minister to the encouragement of the church. Philosophic and theoretic infidelity, once so active and obtrusive, has exhausted its resources, and grown ashamed of its sophistries, so that those energies which were required

* Hamilton's Prize Essay.

† In the world's convention, which was held in London about two years since, one of the speakers stated that a poor black man of Jamaica, who wished to go to Africa to tell the glad tidings of salvation, on being told that, among other difficulties, he might be a slave again, replied, "If I have been a slave for man, I can be a slave for God."

to defend the Christian faith against learned and subtle adversaries at home are now ready to be turned against systems of error and idolatry abroad. Unbelief, driven from the fortresses it had thrown around itself from the pretensions of the intellect, has taken refuge in the cold indifference or malignant resistance of the heart—a position peculiar to none, and from which men of every clime can only be dislodged by those words "which are spirit and which are life." The convulsive throes of anti-christ; the daring but futile attempts which are making to efface the doctrines of the Reformation, and to revive the worst errors of the Papacy, call upon the churches with a voice of thunder to diffuse through all lands the unadulterated light of the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God," and to supplant the flagrant lies of the man of sin by the bold and universal promulgation of the "truth as it is in Jesus." The British arms, famous in the annals of military prowess, are, however inequitably, extending their conquests and throwing open the way to multitudinous and inaccessible tribes. Dynasties, whose date carries us back beyond the limits of historic story, and which baffle the researches of the learned, are disclosing their mysterious secrets. Haughty monarchs and imperious priests, on whom had settled the silence of ages, are dreading the approach of truth, the overthrow of their foul altars, and the invasion of their gorgeous temples. The decay of trade in our streets, and the departure of commerce from our shores, with a gradually exhausting exchequer, will speedily compel the rulers of this great

empire to admit the ships of all nations to our ports, and open to our merchants the exchanges of the world. With our traffic is diffused our influence, our language, and our literature, and the way is prepared for the extension of our religion. Whilst we are summoning our hosts to the battle, our fellow Christians in the new world are equally assiduous; and by their confederacy with us are contributing to create such an amount of evidence in favour of Christian missions as cannot fail to secure for them the homage of the world, and to render most difficult, if not altogether impracticable, their suppression at any time by the enemies of liberty and religion. With such tokens glittering all around us and with the providence of God thus anticipating us, dare we pause in our course?

Nor can the issue of the struggle be allowed to be doubtful. Mere human schemes, however wisely planned and vigorously worked, are liable to be defeated. They hang upon contingencies that no forethought can prevent, and may be thrown into confusion by casualties incident to the profoundest purposes of finite minds. But the designs of the servants of Christ, moulded according to the directions of his word, and executed in humble dependence on his grace, are in sympathy with the councils of the blessed God, and run parallel with his thoughts of love and mercy towards sinful men. They enlist on their side the perfections of Him whom no stratagems can baffle and against whom no combination can succeed. Apparently insuperable obstacles may stand in the way and the friends of missions may meet with pain-

ful diversions and temporary defeat, but why do the "Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision." "His council must stand, and he will do all his pleasure."

It were folly to attempt to define the distinct stage at which Jehovah has arrived in his career of mercy and of love, and presumptuous to attempt to assign the date at which his beneficent purposes shall be fulfilled. "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing." We are familiar with the history of the church, but the chronology of the great work of redemption is not revealed to us. It is impossible, however, to compare the page of prophecy with transpiring events, without a glow of expectation and hope. The Mahomedan imposture, by which the nations have been so long enslaved, is sinking beneath the weight of its crimes. Forms of ecclesiastical polity, based on usurpation, and nurtured by popular ignorance, are gradually declining throughout Europe. The oracles of truth have been translated into the most dissonant, as well as the more elegant languages of the earth. Enlarged spheres of usefulness summon the faithful to renewed activity and zeal. Almighty God, as the moral Governor of the world, is advancing with unwonted rapidity on his majestic way, and as he proceeds "every valley is exalted, and every mountain and hill is made low." His exalted Son surveys, with divine tranquillity, the turbulent elements as they roll beneath his feet, and looks with high approbation on the exertions of his servants, whilst he already hears, with sublime

delight, the distant sound of a great multitude "as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia! the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!" Where is the Christian who would not accelerate his triumphs?

APPENDIX.

PLAN OF A COLLEGE IN JAMAICA.

ADDRESS.

It cannot fail to have been a matter of sincere regret to the liberal and intelligent portion of the community that a colony, in all respects so important as that of Jamaica, should have been so long destitute of an institution for the instruction of its youth in the learned languages, and in the various departments of science.

As a consequence of this deficiency, all persons who have resolved to participate the benefits of a liberal education themselves, or have desired this privilege for their families, have been obliged to resort to the universities or higher schools of Europe or America,—a necessity which has occasioned many painful sacrifices to the wealthy, and been a source of no small disadvantage to society at large.

The College of Fort William in Bengal has been for years in operation, and has already secured the most important results to the middling and higher classes of British India. Similar institutions are in existence in Barbadoes, Nova Scotia, and Canada; and proposals for the establishment of a university, on a liberal and comprehensive scale, have been for some time before the public for the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. And shall the inhabitants of Jamaica be any longer debarred

the inestimable privilege which such an establishment would afford, and continue subject to the reproach of such deficiency when every means for its supply is within their power,—when, indeed, scarcely anything is required but unity of purpose and of energy? If at any one period, more than another, in the history of Jamaica, there existed a real necessity for such an institution,—and if at any time pre-eminent facilities were afforded for its establishment,—it must surely be the present. Apart from all other considerations, proprietors and other influential individuals are less capable than formerly of sustaining the heavy pecuniary expenses which a European education involves; and if this inability is experienced by many of the higher classes of society, it must be obvious that the advantage of a liberal education, in its most comprehensive sense, must be entirely beyond the reach of the intermediate portion of the community, now rapidly increasing in number and respectability.

From such considerations, and from many others of equal importance that could be urged, the immediate establishment of a COLLEGE IN JAMAICA, on principles which will enable respectable youth of all colours to reap the advantages which the most comprehensive system of education can confer, must appear to every intelligent individual, interested in the real welfare of the country, a most important desideratum.

The adoption of such a Plan would necessarily require the possession of considerable funds, and would entail difficulties, in other respects, of no ordinary magnitude. It is presumed, however, from a deliberate view of all the circumstances, that if anything like that general sympathy is awakened to the object upon which it is reasonable to calculate, every apparent obstacle would quickly disappear, and such success ensured as the most sanguine mind could anticipate.

Deeply impressed with these considerations, the writer

takes leave to submit to the liberal and enlightened public the following Prospectus of an Institution, which is designed, in accordance with the views already expressed, not only to secure to the students the best education in all the highest branches of literature and science, for which there might be any demand, and to communicate to them such a course of instruction as would enable them to appear in the learned professions, but one in the proceedings and discipline of which, also, religious and political party distinctions would be unknown,—where, regarding human beings as free agents, liberty of conscience as the right of man, and literature as a common blessing,—good scholarship, good morals, virtuous habits, industry, and talent would constitute the only basis of distinction.

Should the Plan in general meet with the approbation of the public, it is desirable that such individuals as are especially interested in the object would signify that interest by communicating with the writer,* with a view to the formation of a Committee, who would mature the Plan, and begin to carry it into execution by the immediate appointment of agents authorised to collect and receive subscriptions for the purpose.

It may not be unnecessary to remark, in concluding this Address, that the important object here advocated has already engaged the attention of several gentlemen of influence and respectability in Jamaica, who would cordially unite with others in the adoption of measures calculated to insure the immediate execution of the design.

PLAN.

I. PROFESSORS:—

In the incipient operations, when only a limited elementary course is contemplated, probably two or three Professors would be sufficient, as, with reference to many of the subjects proposed, a statement of their scope and

* Addressed No. 6, Fen Court, Fenchurch Street, London.

fundamental principles, in the form of an occasional lecture, might suffice.

1. For *Languages*—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew,*—to which French and Spanish should be added, as essential.
2. For *Logic* and *Philosophy*—including the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Moral Philosophy, and Political—the latter of which involves the principles of political economy and jurisprudence.
3. For *Botany, Chemistry*, and *Natural History*.

The course of Political Economy might be confined to the reading of a simple elementary volume.

For the study of Natural History the proximity of a museum would offer great advantages. An occasional visit to such a collection would form an excellent comment on whatever outline of animated nature might be put into the hands of the junior classes.

A few lectures, also, on the useful arts, engineering, and manufactures, might perhaps satisfy all the requisites of the occasion. Should drawing be thought a desideratum, it should be taught by a master, and, together with tuition in the modern languages, be paid for as an extra; but the principles of perspective should be included in the course of geometry. The lectures might be delivered by the different Professors by an arrangement among themselves, under the sanction of a superior power, as is the case in many of the continental universities.

II. Salaries of the Professors:—

Funds for this purpose to be raised, as well as for the current expenses of the establishment in general,—

1. Partly from the voluntary subscriptions of the public.
2. Partly by a charge of 50*l.* each per annum, more or less, to regular students; and,
3. Partly by fees for the delivery of lectures.

* This desirable from local considerations.

III. Qualifications of the Professors:—

1. They should be men of an orthodox creed, of high moral character, and of liberal sentiments.
2. Persons of first rate qualifications in their respective departments.
3. Individuals who would have no other employment; and,
4. Who would endeavour to improve themselves, from year to year, in the knowledge of what belonged to their department.

IV. Length of the Session:—

1. The session to commence in the month of , and conclude in the month of .
2. Ten days' relaxation at Christmas, and a month at Easter.
5. The length of the whole course of studies to be three or four years.

V. Students:—

1. All young men to be admitted who might be of good moral character, and who desire improvement in useful knowledge.
2. No impediment should arise from complexion, or from difference of religious denomination.
3. Such an institution would offer peculiar advantages to young men designed for the Christian ministry, previously to their entering on a course of theological study.
4. It might also be found highly beneficial to theological students, after having finished their course, either under a private tutor or in a public theological seminary. Such individuals might wish to spend a year at the college previously to their becoming candidates for the pastoral office. Similar advantages would be afforded by it to young men

preparing for the superintendence of normal schools. Persons of prudence and piety, with such prospects, would prove a peculiar acquisition to the college, as examples of good conduct and of diligence in study. They would moreover, by their inspection, influence, and lessons, materially assist the juniors in their literary pursuits.

5. Gentlemen of leisure might wish to enjoy the benefits of such an institution, respectable young men in public offices, and in professional and commercial establishments. Such individuals might occasionally attend courses of lectures, &c. To young men, before immediately entering upon the business of active life in any respectable situation, the benefits which the college would confer would be incalculable.

VI. Mode of Instruction:—

1. The University of Glasgow, it is conceived, forms the best model of any public institution in Europe in this respect, as combining—1st, Public lectures by the professors; 2nd, Careful examination of the students on those lectures; and, 3rd, Frequent themes in writing on the subject of those lectures.
2. The professors should not be bound by any statutes, or otherwise, to follow any particular or precise mode of communicating their instructions, but should be expected to discharge their duties in the spirit of the existing age, and with the aid of whatever improvements the advanced state of society has discovered.

PLACE AND ACCOMMODATION.

VII. As to PLACE:—

A cool and salubrious *situation* would be of the first importance for the seat of the college, as an inducement to able professors from Europe, and on account of the health of the students. It should be *retired*, as a safeguard against the formation of disreputable connections, as well as to prevent as much as possible abstraction from study. It should be, moreover, of easy access, possessing the advantages of a carriage-road; in the county of Middlesex, at no great distance from Kingston and Spanish Town, yet sufficiently within the reach of the respectable inhabitants of the colony at large, and in the vicinity of two or more places of religious worship of different denominations.

VIII. ACCOMMODATIONS:—

It would be desirable, until at least the college be established, to purchase or rent an eligible house for the purpose, but should no suitable premises offer, necessary buildings of an economical description might be erected. Funds for the purchase or rent of premises, or for the erection of suitable buildings, could be raised by voluntary subscription; or, as in the case of the London University (now University College), by a sale of shares, as a committee or a board of directors might determine.

IX. DISCIPLINE AND GOVERNMENT:—

1. It should be liberal.
2. It should be strictly observed.
3. It should consider good moral conduct as absolutely necessary.

4. It should render the college incompatible with the abode of individuals in it whose habits were not industrious.
5. It should aim to render the students useful and ornamental members of civil society, and should also regard them as immortal beings preparing for a higher destination.

Whenever the institution might arrive at a state of maturity, and the professors considered it advantageous to confer literary honours on such students as might distinguish themselves, it may be presumed that, viewing the college in all its important bearings on the surrounding islands and continent (not omitting Africa), but more especially as designed for the learned education of the inhabitants of a colony at once so numerous and so generally deprived of all other means of obtaining literary distinction, the free and liberal Government of Great Britain, so interested in the establishment of all such institutions, would willingly facilitate its importance and usefulness, by granting a charter for that purpose.

In order to prepare a succession of young persons for the study of the highest branches of learning at the college, as well as to secure other important advantages, it would be desirable to connect with the Jamaica Institution, as at the London University, and other colleges on the continent of Europe, a *seminary* of *elementary* instruction, of which the following extract from the 'Journal de Genève,' republished in the 'Bibliothèque Universelle' of Professor Pictet, in 1817, will furnish a simple and interesting example:—

"Upwards of 200 years ago, two illustrious reformers conceived the plan of founding at Geneva a public school to *prepare* young people for the higher parts of learning. This school, which from that time has always subsisted amongst us, bears the name of college, and is divided into

nine classes, in each of which beginning at the ninth, the scholars learn successively to read and write, and afterwards from the seventh to the first,* orthography, Latin, and Greek. . . . The lessons are given in each by a particular master, named the regent of the class, and who is chosen in open competition by the academy, under the special superintendence of which the whole college is placed. Each regent gives in his class from five to six hours' lessons a day. . . . I will add that all the classes of the college are held in the same building, but separate from one another: that they have all the same hours; that the regents and the scholars are constantly under the superintendence of an inspector chosen by the academy, under the name of Principal, who lives in rooms above; that once a year there are distributed publicly, and with great solemnity, the prizes they are supposed to have merited; and that at last, on passing out from the first class, they are admitted as students into the auditories, when the professors, who compose our academy, give regular lectures, on which the students are required to undergo an annual public examination." Thus "the greater number of our young boys, whatever their after destination may be, receive their education at the college, and seldom leave it without having acquired the elements of Latin and Greek."

The reader in this country will perceive that what is here called the "College" answers more or less to our high schools. Their academy is what we should have called the college.—*Translator.*

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* It would not be thought desirable, probably, to form the Jamaica Preparatory Institution after so incipient a model as this. The extract is introduced to illustrate the practicability and advantage of the plan.

NOTE

Connected with the Chapter on Agriculture, p. 94.

The following Extract from "Chambers' Edinburgh Journal" for July of the present year, is worthy the attention of Jamaica agriculturists, as also of those in tropical climates in general:—

"In November last a notice of a new African grain was read before the Linnæan Society of London by R. Clarke, Esq., senior assistant-surgeon to the colony of Sierra Leone.

"According to Mr. Clarke this grain, which is called 'fundi,' or 'fundungi,' is cultivated in the neighbourhood of Kissy village, and in other parts of the colony, by industrious individuals of the Soosoo, Foulah, and other tribes, by whom it is highly prized.

"The fundi is a slender grass with digitate spikes, and grows to the height of about eighteen inches. The ear consists of two conjugate spikes, the grain being arranged on the outer edge of either spike, and alternated; the grain is attached by a short peduncle to the husk, from which it is easily separated.

"The grain, which is cordiform (or heart-shaped) and about the size of mignonette seed, is covered by a thin fawn-coloured membrane; and when freed from this membrane is whitish and semi-transparent. It is highly glutinous, and has a delicate flavour, between that of rice and kiln-dried oats.

"Its mode of culture is extremely simple. It delights in light soils, and requires no manure, and is very prolific.

It is eaten both by Europeans and natives, and is highly valued as an article of food. Mr. Clarke is of opinion that could it be raised in sufficient quantities it would become an important article of commerce, as it would prove a highly valuable addition to the list of light farinaceous articles of food now in use among the delicate and convalescent. From the specimen furnished by Mr. Clarke the fundi grain appears to be quite as delicate as arrow-root, while it possesses a more agreeable flavour than sago, potato-starch, and other similar preparations."—1843, p. 207.

THE END.

LONDON: Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

ERRATA.

Page 18, Latin quotation to be in inverted commas.
" 36, line 27, for "horizon flat, level," &c., read "horizontal level," &c.
" 54, lines 4 and 5 from bottom, in inverted commas.
" 60, last four lines in inverted commas.
" 74, line 15, the words "London" and "Kingston" to be reversed.
" 252, last line, insert "of."

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on 18 July, 2018